



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-90-220  
Wednesday  
14 November 1990

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-90-220

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14 November 1990

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### Al-Qadhdhafi's Tuareg Role in Mali, Niger Noted

AB1111084090 Paris AFRICA INTERNATIONAL  
in French Nov 90 p 31

[Mahmoud Alpha Maiga article: "Tuaregs—The Mark of al-Qadhdhafi: Will the Tuareg Question Degenerate into a Chad-type Conflict?"]

[Text] "I wish to express my profound gratitude to President Bendjedid who accepted this idea and sent invitations to his brothers. The idea occurred to him after the events which the whole world spoke of, especially the bloody clashes between the Tuaregs (in Mali and Niger) and the governments of the two countries." From the beginning at the Djanet quadripartite summit on 9 September in Algeria, the Libyan leader—dressed in Tuareg fashion (litham turban, cross-shaped sabre)—marked his presence with an authentic sense of histrionics before his peers—Ali Saibou (Niger), Moussa Traore (Mali), and Chadli Bendjedid (Algeria)—brought together to examine one issue: the Tuareg question.

The leader of the Jamahiriya first expressed his geopolitical concerns: "I personally favored this summit because the security of this subregion is one and indivisible. We do not want to disturb the tranquillity of this region, neither do we want a Chad-type civil war to contaminate neighboring countries, especially now that the arms trade, originating from Chad, with these countries happens to be developed."

What with the veiled threats? Al-Qadhdhafi has his vision of history: "Our Tuareg brothers were once a Libyan Arab tribe. Libya is, therefore, their fatherland, and it is for this reason that the Tuaregs are considered foreign. Since they are Hymiarides and Phoenicians who came from the Arab Peninsula about 5,000 years ago, they are seen as unstable elements in these regions. They feel that they are victims of racism."

The historian who chooses to ignore the racial mixing which is the origin of almost all Sahelian peoples is quick to pose as paternalist redeemer: "We came to help our brothers of Mali and Niger to resolve their problems. Unfortunately, we were unable to reach a solution because the Malian Government, for instance, sees the present events as a case of highway banditry, whereas the Tuaregs are fighting for a political cause."

A political cause, without doubt, for in the words of Iyad Ag Aghaly, a Malian and former junior officer of the famous Islamic Legion and now secretary general and military leader of the Tuareg Liberation Movement (MLT) based at Tedjerert near the border with Mali and

Algeria, "Now the problem is political because they (the Malian authorities) are refusing to recognize the Tuareg community as an independent entity. Our community has always craved autonomy and has been demanding it since independence. We have nothing to do with the people of Bamako. It is for this reason that we took up arms to conquer our territory and establish a Tuareg state. Our troops are being reinforced by the massive arrival of young Tuaregs deserting the Islamic Legion, carrying their weapons and belongings on their backs. This explains the setbacks suffered by the very little inspired Malian Army in the battlefield."

As a matter of fact, the Gao and Timbuctu areas (in Northern Mali) have openly been declared out of bounds. Thus, the Malian head of state, in a move to further isolate Ag Aghaly in this part of the country, chose to receive a delegation of Tuareg chiefs who came from areas as far as Kidal, Menaka, Gao, and Timbuctu on 20 September. Apart from its character as a "meeting of national union" as the 20 September Bamako meeting was called, was it an attempt to have the rebels isolated by their kinsmen or a step back by President Traore in the face of a real military danger?

For the time being, it seems the Malian Army is having trouble containing the attacks of the rebels who carry out guerrilla operations in a mountainous area hardly accessible for a conventional army which appears to be perfectly held in check by very mobile rebels who are "at ease" especially in view of the fact that they are virtually all natives of the Adrar Region of the Ifoghaas, the theater of the armed conflict.

Concerning relations between the rebels and Colonel al-Qadhdhafi, rebel leader Ag Aghaly states that "for the meantime, we owe nothing to al-Qadhdhafi who is interested in attracting us in order to populate his country's desert and use us, as he has already done in Chad, Lebanon, and Palestine. Those of us whom he enlisted in the Libyan Army—once they are initiated in handling weapons—simply cannot put their military value at the service of any cause other than the conquest of a region which belongs to them, despite the colonial demarcation: Northern Mali."

It is true that at Djanet, al-Qadhdhafi believed that "to guarantee the security of the region, forestall the decimation of Tuaregs, and assist our brothers in Mali, Niger, and the Saharan states, we have to call on all Tuareg tribes to return to Libya, their fatherland, where they can find refuge at this time of painful experience." Surely al-Qadhdhafi has not yet said his last word on the headaches which torment the authorities of the countries most concerned, Niger and Mali.

## Central African Republic

### Marabout's Killer Sought Among Entourage

AB1311225090 Paris AFP in English 2224 GMT  
13 Nov 90

[Text] Bangui, Nov 13 (AFP)—The Centrafrican president's spiritual guide, murdered in September, played a key role in the nation's politics and appears to have been killed by someone close to the head of state, informed sources said here. The marabout (religious leader), Bernard Kowada, shot dead at his home on September 29, had an office next to that of President Andre Kolingba, vetted all his visitors, had a decisive say in the appointment of his aides and set the dates for the president's excursions, sources said Tuesday.

Sources close to the government said police and gendarmes had narrowed their search for the assassin down to the president's entourage. Several people close to the head of state have been interrogated and since released, the sources said. Early in November, reliable sources in Geneva said that a former health minister of the Central African Republic, General Sylvestre Yagongo, and his wife had both been arrested, but officials here have refused to confirm the report.

Like General Kolingba, Mr. Kowada came from the Yacoma tribe. Western sources said that until relatively recently a third of the best-paid and most responsible jobs went to Yacoma people. Sources close to the president said he was strongly criticised for this at the most recent meeting of the single ruling party's leadership in May. Since then, some posts have changed hands.

Observers posted here said Tuesday that the affair has virtually split the governing Democratic Rally (RDC) party, while lawyers and former ministers have been openly demanding a multi-party system. Most of those who signed a pluralist appeal issued on May 15 are now behind bars. September's appointment of hardliner Christophe Grelombe to the Justice Ministry, in place of the sacked Hugues Doboze, indicates that those favouring a crackdown have the upper hand, observers said. Colonel Grelombe is also defence minister.

Gen. Kolingba appears to have been personally deeply affected by the murder of his marabout, who had claimed that he was immortal through the protection of a powerful 'mamie wata', or spirit, a source close to the presidency said. The general almost called off a visit to the United States early in October. Animist traditions are still strong in this small Central African nation.

## Chad

### Habre Receives French Cooperation Minister

AB1311215090 Ndjamenat Domestic Service in French  
1900 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Development and cooperation were today at the center of talks between the head of state and Jacques

Pelletier, the French cooperation minister. He arrived in Ndjamenat this morning to attend the 17th general assembly of Chambers of Commerce of Africa and France. Over the past eight years, Chadians have been rebuilding their country. It has been faced with a military situation imposed from abroad which has seriously impeded its development.

The French minister this morning said that Paris intends to reinforce its economic aid to our country. Here is what he told the national press.

[Begin Pelletier recording] I am here to attend the conference of Chambers of Commerce of Africa and France. I am happy to be here and to have met President Hissein Habre so as to review with him problems concerning our cooperation. The president and I agreed that our cooperation is excellent. So I am happy about that.

Our cooperation took a new turn in 1982. So, it is a relatively recent period. And since then, it has been on a good footing and I think that it will continue in the education and development fields. So we are happy about that. In this regard, President Hissein Habre asked for greater assistance from France. Each time we have been asked to do so, we have tried our best to help Chad, because it has [word indistinct] as far as development, the [words indistinct] of cotton, and population growth are concerned.

I think the elections, which were held a few weeks ago, were the first free elections in the country. They were a major step toward democracy. You are aware that anything that goes in the direction of democracy is supported by France. [end recording]

The French minister flew back to France today.

### Activists Demonstrate Against 10 Nov Attack

AB1311140490 Ndjamenat Domestic Service in French  
1900 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Excerpts] The people of Ndjamenat, including the various social strata, took to the streets this morning to demonstrate their indignation against the aggression perpetrated last Saturday, 10 November against our country. Nothing ever can prevail against the will and determination of a people. Chadians demonstrated this determination by rallying round their leader to defend the integrity of our country. They expressed this determination in the motion of support addressed to the head of state this morning. The motion is read here by Issa Ousmane, secretary general of the Ndjamenat regional committee of the National Union for Independence and Revolution [UNIR].

[Begin Ousmane recording] Motion of support for the president of the republic, head of state, founding chairman of the UNIR, supreme chief of the Armed Forces: Considering the continued criminal and naked

aggression perpetrated against the Chadian people by the hordes of Libyan and Sudanese backed mercenaries of the Islamic Legion;

Considering the violent attack against positions of the Chadian National Armed Forces [FANT] in the Tine region on 10 November 1990;

Considering the frequently repeated acts of double standards adopted by Libya and Sudan against the Chadian people;

Considering the manifest will of the Libyan and Sudanese Governments to destabilize, in fact, completely destroy Chad;

Considering the outburst of nationalism always manifested by Chadians in the wake of any aggression of whatever nature, and their steadfast determination to fight the enemy wherever he may be;

Considering the relentless, sustained, and indefatigable efforts made by Comrade El Hadj Hissein Habre, president of the republic, UNIR founding chairman, supreme chief of the Armed Forces to guarantee Chad's independence and restore its unity and territorial integrity; [applause]

Considering the enormous sacrifices our firms, the active forces in the fight, have already made, and are continuing to make in the task of defending the fatherland;

Considering the unswerving determination of the FANT to take up any type of challenge;

Considering the brilliant successes being scored by our valiant fighting forces;

We, activists of Ndjamenan regional committee of the UNIR, and of Chari-Baguirmi, most strongly condemn the criminal and naked aggression of which Chad has once more been victim; support, unreservedly, the comrade founding chairman of the UNIR and supreme chief of the Armed Forces in his fight to guarantee Chad's independence and restore its unity and territorial integrity; urge the founding chairman to persevere along this

path of national salvation; pay glowing tribute to the FANT for the sense of duty, courage, determination, and heroism it has demonstrated since 1982; exhort the Chadian people to mobilize themselves, with singleness of purpose, round the leader of the revolution and the FANT to annihilate, once and for all, the hordes of mercenaries on the payroll of the bloodthirsty regime in Tripoli and its Sudanese stooge; call on the Chadian people to remain constantly vigilant, to make even greater sacrifices; and to further contribute to the war effort to enable our valiant Armed Forces to wipe out our enemies once and for all.

Issued in Ndjamenan on 12 November 1990 by UNIR activists of Ndjamenan and Chari-Baguirmi. [end recording] [passage omitted]

The head of state's representative, Comrade Gouara Lassou, in his remarks, called on the Chadian people to always mobilize themselves in order to cope with the enemy, to remain vigilant so as to frustrate any destabilization maneuvers, and to continue to make sacrifices to help our Army, the FANT. [passage omitted]

## Rwanda

### President Says People Free To Form Parties

AB1311222090 Paris AFP in English 2150 GMT  
13 Nov 90

[Text] Kigali, Nov 13 (AFP)—Major-Gen Juvenal Habyarimana, president of the troubled East African state of Rwanda, on Tuesday told members of parliament that people were now free to form political parties. Maj-Gen. Habyarimana said this extended to Rwandans outside the country, as well as those inside.

The Rwandan leader also said that he would organize a referendum next June to approve the new multi-party system. For the past month the government here has been facing a rebellion led by exiled Rwandans from neighbouring Uganda. Rwanda has up until now been a one-party state.



## Ethiopia

### Mengistu on Ties With Israel, Domestic Issues

TA09111006... Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST  
in English 9 Nov 90 p 5

[Part one of "exclusive two-part" interview with President Mengistu Haile-Mariam by Micha Odenheimer; place and date not given]

[Text] Question—What kind of relationship would you like with Israel?

Answer—There have been long-standing relations between Ethiopia and Israel. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were interrupted for 17 years—not as a result of any problem that arose between Ethiopia and Israel.

The source of the problems between our two countries always springs from a third country, from third force. The chronic problem between Israel and the Arab nations has been an unfortunate element which has contributed to this.

At present, the situation has changed. One important change is the African countries' decision to restore their diplomatic relations with Israel. Personally, I see no reason why we should inhibit African countries from doing so. The other positive development was the effect of glasnost and perestroika, this has changed the attitude of the socialist countries themselves to Israel.

Having said that, I can't say that there are no problems. (Restored relations) have made the anti-Israel forces even more vociferous against us. Though Israel has restored its relations with many African countries, and maintains traditional links with European countries, that Ethiopia has restored relations with Israel is regarded as unprecedented and has put us under undue pressure from these forces.

These forces define this relationship with Israel as very dangerous and one that portends great danger for the Arab countries. Since the restoration of relations with Israel this has been evidenced by their clear support for our enemies—particularly by Iraq and Libya.

Q—Did Israel make a commitment to stand by you and help you if there was such a negative response?

A—Throughout the years when diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken, links were maintained between Ethiopia and Israel, and pressure was brought to bear by Israel for the restoration of ties.

Our response was that the problem did not lie between our two countries—there was no question that we wanted each other. But there were problems that must be taken into account. The Arab factor, in particular. The response of Israel was that the hostility of the Arab countries would always be there, against Ethiopia and Israel, regardless of whether we had diplomatic ties, and

that this common factor, which was hostile to both of us, would be tackled in common by Israel and Ethiopia. This was the signal that was consistently given to us by Israel.

Q—Has Israel failed to respond adequately?

A—Not only has Israel failed to help but we wonder whether Israel has a clear concept of the problem we are facing.

Q—What kind of relationship between Ethiopia and Israel do you want?

A—It is quite clear that if we want to live peacefully in the region, we have to work together with our friends, and align ourselves against our common enemies. This is not my personal vision, this is something that everybody in Ethiopia expects to happen—the party, the government, the people—everybody wants to see this alliance.

Wild allegations are already circulating about the restored relations between Ethiopia and Israel. Some Arab countries allege that the Israeli army is already in Ethiopia fighting alongside the Ethiopian army, that a host of Israeli engineers is already on Ethiopian soil, to construct a huge dam on the Blue Nile and stop the Nile from flowing into Egypt and Sudan and so on.

There isn't a single Israeli soldier in Ethiopia; in fact, (the Israeli) embassy does not even have a military attache.

If we were the recipients of all that the Arabs imagine, we would not mind, they could say what they want. But since we do not stand to benefit, why should we suffer? We wonder whether the Israeli leadership is really sensitive to our situation.

Q—Many people see the Gulf crisis as the first test of a new world order. What do you feel the stakes are in the crisis?

A—It appears quite clear that Iraq, obsessed with its idea of national renaissance, has entirely overlooked the realities in neighboring countries and in the whole world.

If we analyze the policy and path pursued by the Ba'th party, it clearly underlines three important aspects—Arab nationalism, religion, and expansionism. They are drawing a map, an Arab world map. This new Arab world includes some parts of Africa, and parts of Ethiopia. Israel does not figure in this map. It has been the professed objective of the Ba'th party to turn this map into reality.

Of the leaders that have emerged in that part of the world, Saddam Husayn is clearly characterized by undue adventurism and ambition. Iraq is one of the countries—perhaps the country—that is responsible for all the problems we have in terms of national unity. The truth is that we have been fighting a war or a proxy war here for the past 30 years, and Iraq has the entire time been present on the side of our enemies.

It does not appear to us that the objectives of the Iraqi invasion would be limited to Kuwait. It is quite clear that it has plans to invade countries beyond that. As a matter of fact, Kuwait may be taken as a stepping stone in this adventurist campaign. The whole objective of course, is to make the Arab dream, the Arab map, a reality.

If Iraqi expansionism is not checked, the situation will further deteriorate. The objective in checking Iraqi expansionism is not only forcing Iraq to disgorge Kuwait. The lasting solution lies in forcing Iraq to abandon its expansionist and adventurist plan regarding its neighbors and the world.

Q—Has the Gulf crisis affected your battle against the rebel forces within Ethiopia?

A—The present crisis may be said to have a beneficial effect for Ethiopia because Iraq has been the traditional supplier of arms, or the mainstay of the supply for the insurgents. Now, with the UN embargo, they are not in a position to supply arms generously to the insurgents. But that is not the question. In the long run, the situation with Iraq must be checked.

Q—Will the embargo on Iraq help bring the rebel forces to the negotiating table?

A—Yes, this can be helpful.

Q—What will it take to bring peace?

A—(The rebels) are nothing but mercenaries. What must be realized is that Egypt, Sudan and some of the countries of East Africa are entirely dependent on Ethiopia for their water. And they know very well that one day, when this country sets itself to the task of developing its economy, it will harness this water. Eighty-four percent of the water resources of our neighboring countries comes from Ethiopia. They owe their life to Ethiopia. Their agriculture, their industry, their energy comes from the water of Ethiopia.

So they see to it that Ethiopia does not emerge as a strong country: money, resources, are pumped into perpetually debilitating Ethiopia. As long as we remain in the world, hydropolitics will stay a constant factor. As therefore, of necessity, war will remain a constant factor.

Our enemies in the past have conducted over 100 invasions of Ethiopia in efforts to control our resources—the rivers of Ethiopia. They have failed. Now they have introduced a proxy war. These bandits are rich. A bandit chief, I'm sure, lives a much better life than I do, because they are all on an Arab payroll.

And besides the permanent issue of hydropolitics and the Arab drive and desire to control resources, there is also the constant factor of the Islamization and Arabization of Africa. The one country which has effectively blocked this for centuries is Ethiopia, and so they are very angry about this.

They would like to see Ethiopia cleared out of the way of the Arab sweep. And the other thing is that the Arabs have openly said that the Red Sea is an Arab lake, and Ethiopia has over 1,000 nautical miles of Red Sea coast.

In order to realize this objective it is in their interest to create, on Ethiopia's littoral, an Arab state, which will let them realize their objective of making the Red Sea an Arab lake.

The idea is to keep up the military pressure on Ethiopia. It's not only that. The Arabs have considerable leverage on world financial institutions. For example, when we apply for credit to build a minor dam for one of our rivers, they have the force to stop that project by lobbying at the financial institution, and carrying with them the Europeans and the Americans.

We will surely overcome (these problems) at the end of the day, not because of the amount of arms, or money which is at our disposal but because of the awareness of our people. And with this we will overcome the situation, as Israel did.

Incidentally, without trying to embarrass you, I have great respect for what Israel has achieved in forcing the enemy to recognize its existence. I know what it takes for a tiny country such as Israel, entirely surrounded, to force the enemy to accept the reality of the existence of Israel. We have great respect and admiration for what you have achieved. And our wish is incidentally, to benefit from this solid experience that you have accumulated in the course of decades of defending yourself. That is exactly what I mean by cooperation between our two countries, because this is, so to speak, a virgin land, a promised land, which we can develop by our cooperation.

We have not totally neglected the development of our economy. We have identified our weak and strong points. It is exactly because we have completed this phase of identification and were about to move into the stage of implementation that the heavy enemy pressure came. It was coordinated and synchronized. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries are not in Ethiopia anymore. The Western world is not providing Ethiopia with assistance. Ethiopia is entirely alone. This was the golden opportunity to strike.

Q—Is Ethiopia moving away from Marxism and toward more Western economic and political systems?

A—We were convinced that the introduction of socialism would bring about rapid development in the country, and this would force all nationalities to work together. We were convinced that religious and ethnic aspirations would no longer be the overriding concern. The measure we took at the time—introducing socialism—has helped our country hold together, it has helped avert the danger of disintegration.

Had we not taken that step, the situation in Ethiopia would have been quite different. Because at the time we



did not have the military resources to ward off the combined attack on Ethiopia of Somalia, Sudan, and the secessionist forces.

But now of course, situations have developed quite differently. In the first place, the Cold War is coming to an end, the superpowers have found ways and means to bridge their traditional differences. And the other important development is what has happened within the socialist countries. We had to take these dramatic developments into account.

It was on the basis of the assessment we have made of these developments that we have introduced a mixed economy in our country and restructured our party into a nonideological party. This is not just empty rhetoric. We have taken already concrete steps.

In fact, I could say that the measures we have taken are more far-reaching than any country has taken. And yet it is unfortunate to note that in spite of our widespread liberalizations, in spite of the effort we have taken to come closer to the world than we ever have in the past, the response (from the West) has not been satisfactory.

Q—Can you give an example of this liberalization?

A—In our country, the economy is predominately private. The state and cooperative sectors have been, throughout the revolutionary period, of insignificant percentage in comparison with the private sector. But there was one element that was lacking. There was no legal protection for the private sector, which endangered its standing. So now a whole array of legal protection and benefits have been given to the private sector...For example, the credit facilities, financial assistance and technical assistance to the private sector and above all tax incentives and also generous investment laws.

Another important landmark in our liberalization is what we have done in improving our international image. There is an unfortunate misperception of developments in Ethiopia, projected by our enemies in the Western countries, that we were against the West. This was not the case. Particularly with the United States, we have left no stone unturned to restore our traditional link with the United States. In a certain way, we had all these enemies arrayed against us because of the United States itself, which was maintaining a base and a communications center in our country.

Q—One of the reasons frequently cited by the U.S. for distancing itself from Ethiopia is Ethiopia's record on human rights.

A—There has been some allegation of human rights abuse in our country. There is some truth to that, I must frankly confess, but not to the extent that it is perceived in the United States.

We are not interested in going against the interest of the people. We were fighting against forces that are bent on fragmenting the country. We were fighting to maintain the security of this country and its very existence. And

we are not fighting to achieve expansionist objectives. In the process, some human rights abuse is bound to take place. But one has to be very careful in defining what human rights abuse is.

When the revolution triumphed in our country, disgruntled elements went to neighboring countries and returned with arms to invade the country and to terrorize the ordinary civilian population. The steps I have taken to protect the people against these marauders these terrorists are wrongly described as human rights abuse. The excess that is alleged to have taken place is not to the extent of the excesses of the industrial revolution in Europe or the civil war in America or in many places in Europe today. For example, our prisons are not teeming with prisoners as in any European country.

Q—Do you foresee a multiparty system for Ethiopia sometime in the future?

A—Sure, we want to introduce a multiparty system, as reflecting the will of the people of Ethiopia. We are ready for a multiparty system. But we don't want the parties to be set up on lines of ethnic or religious interests, but on broadly-based issues of national interest.

Q—How can this be encouraged?

A—In the first place, the people have not yet requested it. They did not demand the setting up of a multiparty system in our country. There is no question that the idea of a multiparty system is in the limelight now. If the people think that such a system is in their interest and they endorse it in a referendum, naturally, we will approve it.

Q—As a young man you went to the U.S. for military training.

A—That was a long time ago, and the America of those days was quite different from contemporary America. It was a time when blacks and Jews were discriminated against in America. I well remember a bus ride I had from Chicago to Davenport where the bus driver said, "There is a back seat for the blacks and the Jews." Still, in spite of this, I can say that America is a great society. I learned so much from Americans. I don't at all have a pathologically-negative attitude towards America or Americans.

Q—Were you influenced by the radical ideas of the '60s in America?

A—Of course I was. And in the course of expressing my feelings, I must have antagonized some people.

Q—Is there famine now in Ethiopia?

A—Yes, there is still drought and famine in Ethiopia. By African standards this is a huge country—1.2 million square kilometers, and it is generally fertile country, endowed with huge water sources. In the past, it has been an exporter of food. It is only recently that this drought situation became cyclical and persistent, even chronic,

exclusively in the northern part of our country. This is the only part of our country burdened with excess population and which uses primitive agricultural techniques. This has led to widespread denudation of our country and it has become a devastated area. This situation could have been remedied very easily if we had peace, by relocating people, by exporting food from other areas of the country to that area and rehabilitating this denuded and eroded area.

Q—Are the secessionist forces now allowing relief supplies to be brought into drought areas?

A—No, they do not allow it. We started relocating people elsewhere, to suitable areas of the country. In one scheme, we relocated some half [a] million people. But this was viewed by the world as human rights violation, there was an uproar and we were forced to abandon it.

What the secessionists and the bandits do is to force the hungry people into joining their ranks. Famine helps the secessionists because it creates a social base from which to recruit.

Q—What is your ambition for Ethiopia?

A—Forty percent of our budget goes towards the preservation of national unity. You can figure out what that means. We could have built two huge industrial plants annually, or railways and many hospitals with this money. So what I would like to see is peace, and the preservation of national unity. If we had peace, we could divert this money and transform this country, dramatically and in a brief period.

## Kenya

### Vice President on Linking Aid to Political Style

EA1411082690 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
1800 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] The vice president and minister for finance, Prof. George Saitoti, today told Parliament that Kenya will stand firm against any country that wants to link foreign aid to the country's political system. He was moving the second reading of the appropriation bill.

Reacting to a story in today's local press attributed to the U.S. congressional delegation touring the country, Professor Saitoti said he wanted to believe that what he read was not true. He said nowhere in the conversation he had had with the senators did they refer to any conditions they were giving Kenya for continued aid from their country. He said there can never be any linkage between aid from any foreign country to the political style Kenya had chosen to follow. He said he expected a statement from the U.S. Government to clarify the statement in the press.

Seconding the bill, the minister for industry echoed the vice president's sentiments. Most members who spoke in support of the bill condemned the statement by the

American senators and warned that Kenya would never sell her independence and sovereignty for any aid from a foreign nation.

### \* Norway Threatens Aid Cut Over Human Rights

91AF0038A Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian  
26 Sep 90 p 3

[Article by AFTENPOSTEN correspondent Per Egil Hegge: "Kenya Warned Again"—first paragraph is AFTENPOSTEN introduction]

[Text] Washington—Vice President of Kenya George Saitoti was yesterday informed by Norway that the threat to cut developmental aid remains in force unless the human rights situation in Kenya improves.

Finance Minister Arne Skauge and Minister of Developmental Aid Tom Vraalsen yesterday repeated a warning to the government of Kenya that Norwegian aid could be reduced if the country's political situation does not develop in a more favorable direction.

It was Kenya's Vice President George Saitoti who asked for a meeting with the two Norwegian ministers, who are in Washington in connection with the annual meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Saitoti is the head of a committee in the governing party which has investigated the political relations in the country, and he made a preliminary report about what has been done. His final report will be made public relatively soon.

"We informed him of our anxiety over the way that political opponents of the governing party have been treated," says Minister for Developmental Aid Tom Vraalsen to AFTENPOSTEN. "It was also the basis for the communique the Nordic countries sent to Kenya this summer. There are still people who are interned. They've been there since July, and their case has not been brought before any legal authorities."

Norway contributes approximately 150 million Norwegian kroner a year in bilateral aid to Kenya, and a little extra goes into projects in which several funding countries cooperate. Withholding a portion of this aid is being considered, as an expression of dissatisfaction with the direction the political developments in Kenya have taken.

Minister Vraalsen says that he sees it as both interesting and encouraging that Kenya took the initiative towards such a meeting.

"We said clearly that we were not pleased with what has happened, and that things must improve still more. The vice president answered that he understood our reasoning, and that he intended to consider those points of view further," says Vraalsen.

Vice President Saitoti opened the World Bank's annual meeting in Washington yesterday. He is chairman of the

board of directors this year. Later in the evening (Norwegian time), President George Bush spoke. It was not expected that he would hold out the prospect of increased funds for developmental aid, but the seven most powerful industrial countries have recommended extra appropriations for the three nations which have been hit the hardest economically by the sanctions against Iraq: Egypt, Jordan, and Turkey. Also up for discussion is the establishment of a fund to help third-world countries that are being hit disproportionately hard by the sharp increase in oil prices.

### Somalia

#### Minister Says Ethiopia Harboring Rebels

EA1311213490 Nairobi KTN Television in English  
1800 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Ethiopia has been accused of harboring Somali rebels despite a peace accord signed by the two neighboring East African countries in April 1988. Somali Defense Minister Hussein Abdirahman Mattan said Ethiopia deceived his country with the peace agreement, because it is not willing to send armed bandits out of Somalia. [as heard] Diplomats in the region said peace accord had not stopped the Ethiopian Government from continuing to supply the rebel Somali National Movement with ammunition, food, and asylum.

Last month, however, Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile-Mariam, ordered all Somali rebel groups to leave Ethiopia. The decision was in line with the commitments made in July by the six-member regional group, the IGADD [Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development], to stop supporting guerrillas from neighboring countries. The authority's members are Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda and Djibouti [and Sudan]. But the three main guerrilla groups, which released a unification document last month in London, have started to coordinate attacks on Somali Government forces.

#### Defense Minister Urges 'Bandits' To Reform

EA1211223090 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali  
1850 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Comrade Hussein Sheikh Abdirahman Mattan, the Somali Democratic Republic [SDR] defense minister, has said the new government is prepared within the limits of its [words indistinct] to curb the banditry activity which has engulfed the country. The minister, who was today addressing reporters from departments of information in the country in his office, said that the bandits, who are engaged in violent robbery, murders, and the pillaging of citizens' property, cannot be tolerated by the government and warned the bandits against continuing with their activities. He called on them to reform themselves, show remorse, and join in the work of nation-building. He said the government always gives priority to the security of its citizens and that citizens' security would never be compromised.

Speaking on security, Comrade Hussein Sheikh Abdirahman Mattan, the SDR defense minister, said that security is the basis for the development of the country in the fields of economy and social development. He made it clear that the current economic difficulties prevailing in the Northern and Central Regions of Somalia and Bakool Region were caused by the collapse of exports of livestock, poor communication, mismanagement of financial and economic institutions, and the destruction which had hit those areas.

Speaking on the new government policy, he said the attainment of a peaceful solution to the country's current problems, the market economy, political freedom, the implementation of the new constitution, reconstruction of the economy, and the dispensation of justice to all have been given priority. He disclosed that up to now steps have been taken to implement the interim constitution and to separate the government and the party as two organs, and that steps are currently under way for the introduction of political pluralism in the country. He said the government firmly believes that if the above priorities are given a chance, the current crisis in the country could be solved.

Comrade Hussein Sheikh Abdirahman Mattan spoke in detail on the country's past struggle against colonialism, the birth of the revolution, and the achievements scored.



**Officials Comment on Harms Commission Report**

*MB1311172690 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1600 GMT 13 Nov 90*

[Text] The Harms Commission has rejected allegations of the existence of a police hit squad but says the Civil Cooperation Bureau [CCB] did in fact conspire to commit murder and sabotage.

The commission said in its report released a short while ago that it had been found that the murdered advocate, Mr. Anton Lubowski, was a paid member of the South African Military Intelligence Service [MIS]. The commission was instructed to investigate several murders as well as allegations that Mr. Lubowski was linked to a military intelligence service. It was also alleged that Mr. Lubowski had been killed by members of the Civil Cooperation Bureau.

Mr. Justice Harms said in his report that although the CCB and MIS were branches of the South African Defense Force they had operated independently and that the MIS was probably unaware of the existence of the CCB. Mr. Justice Harms pointed out that the minister of defense, General Magnus Malan, was politically responsible for the existence of the CCB. The precise nature of his political responsibility, however, did not concern the commission.

Mr. Justice Harms said the actions of the CCB had jeopardized the entire security arm of the state. He said members' behavior before and during the sitting of the commission had created the suspicion that they had been involved in more acts of violence than had been shown by the evidence. Mr. Justice Harms said there were indications that members of the CCB had had their own political agenda which had not agreed with that of the government.

Referring to the evidence of a former police captain, Mr. Dirk Coetzee, on the existence of hit squads, Mr. Justice Harms described it as unsatisfactory. He said Mr. Coetzee had frequently been guilty of giving unreliable evidence. Mr. Coetzee, who said in evidence that he had been in command of the so-called hit squad, had resigned from the police in 1985 after a disciplinary hearing. Mr. Justice Harms found that Mr. Coetzee had shown psychopathic tendencies and that he had suffered from diabetes which had affected the functioning of his brain. He said Mr. Coetzee had joined the ANC [African National Congress] and was being used by that organization's publicity division. Mr. Justice Harms said in his report that he was not making any recommendations about the CCB because the bureau had been disbanded at the end of July this year. He was also not making any recommendations on the continued existence of the police base at Vlakplaas although he was recommending that the original guidelines for the functioning of the base be adhered to strictly and that only members of the police force perform police duties.

The state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, says that in view of the events with which the Harms Commission dealt and the circumstances in which the commission sat, no reason could be found to criticize the political leaders for the way in which they had carried out their duties and responsibilities. He said the events had occurred in a period of serious conflict and struggle that belonged to the past. President de Klerk said action should be taken with regard to the future, and conciliatory steps taken that included the possibility of granting indemnity to members of all parties involved in the struggle. President de Klerk said the undertaking of the special or covert operations was being reviewed in its entirety, and shortcomings in the control of such operations were being rectified through instructions.

The minister of defense, Gen. Magnus Malan, says even if he is politically responsible for the Civil Cooperation Bureau it is not unusual for employees to commit offenses without someone else being held responsible for their actions. Reacting to the report of the Harms Commission, Gen. Malan said it had been found that no internal operation of the CCB had been presented to a higher authority for authorization. He said the CCB was disbanded not so much because of its methods of operation but because of, amongst others, the unauthorized actions of five or six persons which had been referred to the attorney general.

The chief of the Defense force, Gen. Kat Liebenberg, said the criticisms and recommendations of the commission were noted with appreciation. He said comment on the financial aspects of the report could not be made before the report of the auditor general had been completed.

The minister of law and order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, said note had been taken of the findings of the Harms Commission that there had been no truth in the allegations of a so-called police hit squad. Mr. Vlok pointed out that the evidence of Mr. Dirk Coetzee, Mr. Almond Nofomela, and Mr. David Tshikalanga had been found to be lacking in credibility. He said the findings of the commission reaffirmed that the police has links to the enforcement of this country's laws.

The Conservative Party says politicians must be held responsible for the irregularities which are discovered in their departments. The party spokesman on defense, Mr. Koos van der Merwe, said in his reaction to the Harms report that the minister of defense, Gen. Magnus Malan, would have been fired if he was serving in an overseas government. Mr. van der Merwe said the people who had carried out orders should be left alone. He said the politicians who talked themselves out of trouble in such an experienced manner were the actual offenders and that they should be punished if punishment should be meted out.

**De Klerk Remarks**

*MB1311165490 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1549 GMT 13 Nov 90*

[Text] Pretoria Nov 13 SAPA—Shortcomings in the control of operations investigated by the Harms Commission were

being rectified, President F.W. de Klerk said in reaction to the commission's report, released on Tuesday.

Special and covert operations were being totally reviewed in reaction to the report. The responsibilities of politicians and other persons in command of such operations were also being dealt with. Mr de Klerk said, however, he could find no reason to condemn politicians in charge of various government departments for the way they carried out their duties and responsibilities.

The commission reported to him on September 6. It was appointed in January to investigate alleged politically-inspired murders. The report had been referred for appropriate action to cabinet ministers whose functions were affected by the commission's recommendations, Mr de Klerk said.

Government action following the report was not aimed at "satisfying unrealistic expectations" but had the sole purpose of ensuring effective and just administration. It would allow the normal legal process to run its course so government and law enforcement officials could continue in the important process in which South Africa was involved, Mr de Klerk said.

"It is now time for calm to prevail in the country and for witch hunts on individuals to stop. The events dealt with in the report took place in an era of serious conflict and strife, now belonging to the past. We should act with a view to our future and take the conciliatory steps which are necessary to again create a peaceful and prosperous community in South Africa."

Such steps included possible indemnity to people involved in the conflict, Mr de Klerk said. "I trust our country and all its people will close the door on the tension and strife of the past and face the many challenges of the future together."

#### **ANC Says Report Blames Malan**

*MB1311202590 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1934 GMT 13 Nov 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 13 SAPA—The Harms Commission report placed ultimate responsibility for Civil Cooperation Bureau [CCB] activities at the door of Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan, the African National Congress [ANC] said on Tuesday [13 Nov] night. It was an explicit indictment of the CCB and its commanding officers.

The ANC said the commission's conclusions the SA [South African] Police [SAP] did not run hit squads were inexplicable.

The assertion former members of specialised police counter-insurgency squads who testified proved less than truthful could not be permitted to detract from the gravity of charges they made. The manner in which the commission dealt with this matter would only serve to further erode public confidence in such commissions, the ANC said.

The restrictive terms of reference of the commission, "which Mr Justice Harms insisted on observing to the letter," excluded all the hundreds of alleged criminal actions SA had conducted in neighbouring states and other parts of the world. The ANC demanded the immediate resignation of Gen Malan, the disbandment of irregular forces of the SADF [South African Defense Force] and SAP with all their assets and personnel accounted for.

#### **COSATU: 'Slap in the Face'**

*MB1311203690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1944 GMT 13 Nov 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 13 SAPA—The findings of the Harms Commission were a slap in the face for families and loved ones of victims of alleged "apartheid death squads," the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] said in reaction on Tuesday [13 Nov] night.

"It is bad enough the truth is once again being concealed, but of greater concern these hired killers have been let off the hook and are still in the business of assassinating apartheid's opponents."

Furthermore, the trade union federation charged, CCB [Civil Cooperation Bureau] bosses had been left unscathed by the commission. COSATU called for the full records of the CCB, askaris [turned African National Congress guerillas], the relevant security police department and "other death squads" to be made public.

"Only when these death squads are publicly dismantled, and those responsible brought to account for their actions, will we believe this government is serious about ending the legacy of apartheid terror and oppression of the majority," COSATU said.

#### **Cabinet, Deputy Minister Sworn in 14 November**

*MB1411100890 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0900 GMT 14 Nov 90*

[Text] A cabinet minister and a deputy minister were sworn in at the Union Buildings this morning by the Deputy Judge President, Mr. Justice Eloff.

They are the new minister of national education and environmental affairs, Mr. Louis Pienaar, and the new deputy minister of law and order, Mr. Johan Scheepers.

#### **ANC Urges 'Major' Land Redistribution**

*MB1411073290 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0714 GMT 14 Nov 90*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 14 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress], in a report just released, has made an urgent plea for a major redistribution of land in South Africa as part of a state-run affirmative action programme, using nationalisation selectively.



The report is a detailed summary of last month's African National Congress land commission workshop, which was closed to the media.

It is the first in a line of comprehensive ANC documents which will form the basis for discussions towards a definitive ANC land policy, officials said. The 20-page report was released exclusively to SAPA this week.

The six day workshop was mandated "to discuss the present crisis around land, and its resolution." It was the first time the ANC tackled in detail the controversial issue of land, officials added.

The workshop was attended by delegates from most ANC regions, community leaders from rural areas, specialists in various land related issues, and regional and international representatives. Derek Hannekom, administrator of the ANC Land Commission, told SAPA what was notable about the workshop was that it highlighted the complexity of the South African land issue. Discussions raised more questions than answers, he added.

The ANC expects its report will contribute to the growing debate on the emotive issue of land in the country—87 per cent owned by whites and the remaining 13 per cent owned by blacks. According to the report, most delegates agreed "the state should play the principal role in effecting a major redistribution of land."

There was also an urgent need for a programme of affirmative action regarding the acquisition of land for black people and in support of aspirant black producers. Importantly though, the ANC said, the majority opinion was that nationalisation of land was not necessarily the only instrument for land redistribution:

"In the context of a mixed economy there would only be selective nationalisation, and that the distribution of this land would be based on land use needs," the report states.

The ANC said an example of the thoroughness of the workshop was that delegates went so far as to give detailed proposals on exactly how to compensate land owners whose land was acquired by the state. The report added: "No compensation to be paid in foreign exchange for repatriation, even in relation to companies." According to the report, the aim of the workshop was to identify "particular issues which need to be addressed seriously in order to develop a land policy for a future non-racial, non-sexist South Africa".

Amongst these the following issues were discussed:

"The need to satisfy the land hunger experienced in our country and redress the present discriminatory land occupation;

"The need for a process through which victims of forced removals can be returned to their land;

"The need for a land claims commission to provide a mechanism through which land claims can be adjudicated;

"The need for an investigation into restructuring agriculture to make it more equitable, economically viable and sustainable.

"The workshop recognised the need for a programme of affirmative action in regard to acquisition of land for black people and in regard to supporting aspirant black producers. The conclusion of the workshop was that these and other issues need as a matter of urgency to be discussed within the ranks of the ANC, in consultation with all parties interested in the building of a new South Africa. Accordingly a process of consultation at all levels within the organisation is to be initiated. Central to this process is the decision to form land commissions in all of the ANC's regions."

The workshop report was being "offered as an initial contribution to the launching of a consultative process," the ANC said.

The ANC Land Commission, which forms part of the ANC legal and constitutional negotiations task force, is expected to produce a discussion paper on a future land policy in South Africa around the middle of December. The ANC said it will come at a opportune time in view of the recent announcement by President F. W. de Klerk that the controversial Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 will be reviewed during the next parliamentary session.

Six topics were tackled at the ANC workshop: land nationalisation; communal land; land claims; land acquisition and compensation; "labour and gender rights" in relation to land and farmwork; and economic policy. Delegates were divided into five groups. Land nationalisation was debated by all of the groups, and subsequently each group focused on one of the remaining five topics.

#### Further Coverage

MB1411102690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0951 GMT 14 Nov 90

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 14 SAPA—The first priority for land acquisition by a new South African Government would be land which is claimed by communities, farm workers "and so on," according to the report of last month's ANC [African National Congress] workshop on land, released this week. Taking into account the ANC's long-held opposition to forced removals and its demands for the return of the land to the landless, delegates concluded that any process of land acquisition should be determined by a demand-led approach.

Acquisition would be based on two sets of criteria: productivity and social considerations. The workshop also strongly felt that there should eventually be a principle of "one person/one farm."

What about the controversial issue of compensation when land was acquired, in whatever manner, by a future government? According to the report, the group of delegates at the workshop who debated the issue concluded that, "given our assumptions," there had to be a principle of compensation, and therefore:

"that there should be compensations; except in certain circumstances where compensation would not be required: unused or abandoned land, abused land, human rights violations by land owners, (and) underutilised land."

Delegates noted too that reparations are a form of compensation: "Due from present owners on the basis of the benefits they have received to those who were dispossessed of their beneficial use of the land."

In debating compensation to be paid to present owners of land the workshop concluded, firstly, that no compensation would be paid in foreign exchange for repatriation, "even in relation to companies," and secondly, that the form of compensation to be paid should be: 25 per cent in cash, 25 per cent in 10 year government bonds, and 50 per cent in industrial bonds.

The ANC report also made a number of "basic assumptions" about a future land reform process:

—"It will take place in the context of a mixed economy;  
—"A land reform law will be introduced which will maintain the present government's right to expropriate and will include a new administrative bureaucracy."

The report added, though: "In the plenary discussion there were strong differences of opinion with respect to the possibility of a progressive or sympathetic bureaucracy being established to oversee land reform." Which land should be targetted for acquisition? "Taking into account our history of struggles against forced removals and demands for the return of the land the group felt that any process of land acquisition should be determined by a demand-led approach:

"The first priority for acquisition is land which is claimed by communities, farm workers and so on." Two sets of criteria will guide this process, according to the ANC report:

1. Criteria based on issues of productivity, by priority; unused land, abused land, and underutilised land, including portions of farms;
2. Criteria based on social considerations; human rights violations—with due notice, violations of labour laws, part-time farmers, and company-owned farms.

The report added: "It was strongly felt that there should be a principle of one person/one farm. This should be a principle to be worked towards if it is not feasible to implement immediately.

"The introduction of retention limits (i.e. maximum farm size) was considered, but found to be problematic. There would have to be different considerations for different forms of production and for differing ecological zones. Therefore the idea of retention limits should be a secondary basis in acquisition decisions."

As to the question of whether there should be a regulated land market the ANC report states: The government must have a right of first refusal; there must be a land tax; there must be controls on land use; government may

use the process of first refusal, including inspection to prevent and or control bartered deals; and a need for realistic transfer costs related to the value of the land.

On the issue of company ownership, the report states that despite the delegates' initial feeling that company ownership of land should not be allowed, it would be more realistic to consider regulating company ownership:

"Thus company ownership should be allowed in certain circumstances but that a control mechanism was needed. The general view was that policy should be directed towards the promotion of family farms as opposed to company farms, i.e., the taxation rules should change to stop benefitting company owned farms. Agricultural policy as a whole should be geared towards the benefit of individual and community farms above company farms."

The ANC workshop concluded further that all forms of tenure would be allowed in a mixed economy. Although the question of land occupations was not part of the brief of the workshop group which discussed land acquisition, the group discussed it "due to the fact that land occupations are taking place and are likely to speed up."

The group concluded that people should be encouraged to register their claims to land with a claims commission. The purpose of this was to legitimise these claims and speed up attempts to resolve them, the ANC report said. In the advent of disputes, there had to be a policy by which to find solutions to claims by mediating in conflicts. However, during the resolution of a conflict, or process of mediation, the occupiers would be entitled to remain on the land—with tenant rights, the ANC report said.

### **PAC, Azapo Discuss Land Redistribution**

*MB1311135390 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1120 GMT 13 Nov 90*

[From the "Africa South" program]

[Text] A fair redistribution of the wealth and the land resources in South Africa are key issues around which any new constitution for this country must be formulated. However, the ways in which this can be achieved differ widely. Philemon Tefo is the assistant secretary general of the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC], and Dr. (Gomolemo Mokayi) is a member of the Azanian People's Organization [Azapo].

[Begin recording] [Tefo] We Africanists believe that the land should belong to the Africans, as it was taken away from them. It has to be redistributed and the resources as well ought to be redistributed. We feel there can be no better solution except that.

[(Mokayi)] On the land question, we are almost at one with the PAC, insofar as the repossession of the land to the rightful owners is concerned. But we go further than that. We feel that if you're getting the land, but you don't (?field) the land question with the social question, you don't say that you get the land back to socialize, to

institute socialism, scientific socialism specifically, for the equitable distribution of the land and the wealth of the country, you're having problems.

We know of situations in Africa where Africanism was preached, like the Jomo Kenyattas who preached Africanism and said they wanted the land back, but they didn't tell people, you know, what they precisely wanted to do with the land. They got the land, and there were a few African landlords who had the land to themselves, so much so that Jomo Kenyatta died one of the 10 richest people in Africa, in fact, in the world, not in Africa.

Now, we are saying that we (?field) the land question with the social question. We think that we get the land back to institute socialism. We do agree with the PAC that the land, liberated South Africa, should become Azania. We agree with them there. We agree with them that the land has to be repossessed. But they fall short. They fall short of calling for scientific socialism.

Actually, one of their chief spokesmen, John Nyati, is on record as having said that we don't know what kind of an animal this socialism is, but we can tell from her footsteps she is an ugly monster, you know. Now, if socialism is an ugly monster to people who purport to be for the liberation of the black people, we're having problems with that. But, be that as it may, we do acknowledge the similarity that we have with the PAC. [end recording]

#### ANC's Maharaj Discusses Armed Struggle Option

MB1111150090 London BBC World Service in English  
1309 GMT 11 Nov 90

[From the "24 Hours" program introduced by Julian Marshall]

[Text] In South Africa, the release last week on bail of eight members of the African National Congress, the ANC, served to demonstrate yet again just how muddled the country's political waters are. The eight are alleged to have been involved in a plot masterminded by communists within the ANC and codenamed Operation Vula, which was to prepare for an armed uprising if negotiations with the government collapsed. And yet despite their detention, talks between President F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela have continued. Well, the attorney general had previously opposed bail for the eight, but bail was finally granted last Thursday [8 Nov] while applications by the eight for indemnity for past political offenses are considered.

On the line to Johannesburg I asked one of the accused, Mac Maharaj, who is also a member of the South African Communist Party, whether he expected his application to be successful:

[Begin recording] [Maharaj] Oh, we are fairly certain that we will have to be granted indemnity. Not only my own position as a member of the National Executive, but all of us are members of the African National Congress,

and that in terms of the agreement as we understand it that indemnity is a matter of formality.

[Marshall] But can you state categorically, Mr. Maharaj, that no plan exists on the part of the ANC or the South African Communist Party to resume the armed struggle should negotiations fail?

[Maharaj] I think that the military option and other wider options have got to be looked at in terms of what are the possibilities that the changes that are taking place and the commitment toward negotiations may be reneged upon or neutralized, and I think we will have to look at volatility of white politics in South Africa rather than anything else. I personally accept that President de Klerk is a man who is sincere about his intentions, but I think there are a lot of evidence of conflict within the cabinet, uncertainty of where to go forward, and within white politics a distinct danger of a coup against de Klerk whether it be within the Nationalist Party or from without the Nationalist Party. Now, we cannot commit ourselves to a carte blanche commitment irrespective of the way things develop.

[Marshall] Are you saying then that you are prepared should the need arise to resume the armed struggle?

[Maharaj] Well, let me put it the other way. De Klerk has just made a call on the ANC to abandon every form of mass mobilization and mass action. Now, that is an extension of a mere interpretation that he interprets all that activity as violent. Even in the United Kingdom where people have the vote, demonstrations do take place and manifestations of support for a particular position. He is reading into the concept of democracy a total inactivity by the people. In South Africa, despite the changes on the ground, the hard grievances of the people still stand, and we do not have any mechanism to redress those grievances. So, we have to be committed to a process of involving the mass of the people in struggle to change the practical conditions of their lives. But, for example, if tomorrow the ANC is banned once more, it will be taking us back to a position where we cannot mobilize openly. In a condition like that, I am certain that the ANC will have to resume armed activity.

[Marshall] Would you not agree, Mr. Maharaj, that while negotiations are going on that is only reasonable that the government should expect a fair amount of stability within the country and that it should have available for itself action to be taken against threats from the right and the left to that process of negotiation?

[Maharaj] Well, the first problem with that is that the government is in fact an illegitimate government from the point of view of the totality of the South African population.

[Marshall, interrupting] But it is the de facto administration.

[Maharaj] They cannot certainly acquire legitimacy simply by proclaiming that they are the de facto power. I think an honest search for solutions requires reaching some consensus as to how we should be acting. [end recording]



**PAC Requests Iran Help in Prisoner Release***MB1311044690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2103 GMT 12 Nov 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 12 SAPA—The Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] has requested the support of the Islamic Republic of Iran in their campaign for the release of political prisoners.

Mr. Phillip Dlamini, PAC secretary for legal affairs, said in a statement on Monday a delegation from the organisation had arrived in Iran on October 10 for talks with the Iranian Government. The delegation is led by Acting President Clarence Makwehu.

**Police Searching for Communist Party Members***MB1411135090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1306 GMT 14 Nov 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 14 SAPA—Police on Wednesday said they were looking for four suspects, including senior SACP [South African Communist Party] member Ronnie Kasrils, in connection with the illegal importation of arms, ammunition and explosives under "Operation Vula"—the alleged plot to overthrow the South African Government by force.

According to a police statement released in Johannesburg, Mr. Kasrils, Janet Love, Charles Ndaba and Christopher Manye were being sought by the Durban Police. The statement said the suspects were expected to be "armed and dangerous" and continuously made use of "all sorts of disguises" to hide their identities. Police said Janet Love also operated under two aliases, Cathy McCarthy and Venessa Brown.

Rewards were available for information leading to the arrest of the four, the statement said, but did not specify how much was being offered. Rewards were also being offered for information leading to the recovery of arms, ammunitions and explosives. Informants were invited to contact a Major de Beer of the Durban Police at (031) 320-218 during office hours or the duty officer at (031) 379-227, pager 635, after hours.

**Dissidents Demand Inquiry Into ANC 'Atrocities'***MB1411091990 Johannesburg Television Service  
in English 1800 GMT 13 Nov 90*

[Text] Two more ANC [African National Congress] dissidents have managed to return to South Africa to make allegations of torture and killings in ANC prison camps in Africa. They renewed demands for a commission of enquiry into their allegations of atrocities at ANC camps. Shortly after their arrival in South Africa they held a news conference in Johannesburg.

[Begin video recording] [Reporter Cliff Saunders] Claiming that there were still more than 200 ANC dissidents in dire straits trying to get back to South Africa, the two returnees, Messrs. Luvo Mbengo and Ronnie Masango said that they and others had initially

rebelled against the ANC leadership because of torture, killings, detentions without trial, and other irregularities in ANC camps in Africa. Mr. Luvo Mbengo told the news conference of some of the incidents.

[Mbengo] (Jonga Matsupa) died during the torture. (Ntsepo) disappeared on that day. Eight of us were taken to Quatro Camp. The torture, they were using the plastic, they were burning these plastic bags and they just drip on you. Those are repercussions of the plastic, here and here and also here on the legs.

[Saunders] The other returned dissident, Mr. Ronnie Masango, related his experiences in the ANC camps, which included being locked up in a metal box for two weeks and renewed the dissidents' call for a commission of inquiry.

[Masango] What we want, we want facts to be given to the people. The people to know who was right and who was wrong and what was our cause, and who killed people, who started doing the killing. Is it the ANC or is it mutineers? Were mutineers a group of indisciplined people or agents as they are saying. This is the work of a commission of inquiry. This is what the commission must do.

[Saunders] Mr. Masango called for the election of a new ANC leadership because of what he described as widespread corruption within the present leadership.

[Masango] We are so many so we feel they are not capable of leading the people. That's why we also— we wanted a conference where we would elect a new leadership and still, till now, we still maintain the same position.

[Saunders] Both men claim that while in Kenya they had been in touch with the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Reverend Frank Chikane, who had spoken to them while in the company of ANC official, Mr. (Tokyo Sekgwale). They had refused requests by Mr. (Sekgwale) that they settle their dispute with the ANC. Mr. Mwezi Twala who hit the news earlier this year when he arrived in South Africa from Tanzania with allegations of torture, announced that the dissidents were forming a returned exile coordinating committee. Among other things it would assist ANC dissidents abroad and at home and pursue the objective of a commission of inquiry. He lashed out at the Transkeian authorities because the murderers in Transkei of two ANC dissidents and a member of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] had not yet been arrested.

[Twala] Apparently the Holomisa regime, it's not interested in finding out who the criminals are. [end video recording]

**13 Nov Press Review on Current Problems, Issues***MB1311121790*

[Editorial report]

### THE CITIZEN

South Africa's Noninvolvement in Gulf—"Nobody, it seems, dares to ask why South Africa is not involved" in the Gulf, declares Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 12 November in its page 6 editorial. Perhaps there is "a fear that having South African forces in the Gulf would be an acknowledgment that the arms embargo is a farce, and that it should be lifted, or their presence might raise suspicions that the embargo is being eased so that the South Africans can get supplies of sophisticated weaponry." However, South Africa might not be volunteering a force for the Gulf because it received "no recognition for the valiant part South Africans played in the two world wars and in Korea," and there wouldn't be much recognition for South Africa's part in a Gulf war.

### THE STAR

Criticism of De Klerk's Cabinet Reshuffle—Referring to State President F.W. de Klerk's announcement of a cabinet reshuffle, Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 13 November in a page 16 editorial states: "It is easy to understand the need for clearing the administrative decks for the vital stage of constitutional negotiation implicit in the latest Cabinet reshuffle. It shifts the burden off key Ministers such as Gerrit Viljoen and Stoffel van der Merwe, who will bear the brunt of negotiation politics. But it is more difficult to accept the need for new white Ministers in their places, especially as there is a surfeit of Ministers already, not all effective." De Klerk "would have done better to prune the Cabinet ahead of going non-racial, rather than to appoint more party faithful to the gravy train."

### BUSINESS DAY

Cabinet Reshuffle Dims Economic Signals—President De Klerk's cabinet reshuffle "deserves praise but raises some questions," notes Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 13 November in a page 14 editorial. "Increasing the Cabinet from 18 to 20 members, and the creation of a new directorate and a strange new department, is open to question." De Klerk inherited a "ministry of privatisation; he scrapped it in favour of one dealing with public enterprises. He created a department of economic co-ordination; its first Minister has set about regulating parastatal tariffs. Now we're back to regional development. The political signals are mostly right; the economic ones dim with each shuffle."

### CAPE TIMES

De Klerk Mandate in Randburg By-Election—Noting the National Party victory over the Conservative Party in the Randburg by-election Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 9 November in a page 8 editorial says: "Any fears that the white electorate, disillusioned by black violence and the apparent inability of freed and unbanned leaders to curb it,

might be driven en masse into right-wing arms were dispelled by the Randburg by-election result." "Talk of President de Klerk not having a mandate is laughable when the party making such accusations cannot even retain its electoral deposit."

Call for ANC Strategies for New South Africa—It is "understandable" that the African National Congress (ANC) rejects black local authorities and racially defined local government, but "surely the time has come for the ANC to move away from protest actions against apartheid institutions and focus their energies on developing strategies for building the new South Africa," affirms a second editorial on the same page. "Why expend political energy in attacking apartheid structures which everyone knows are disappearing?"

### \* Future of Oil Industry Debated

91AF0165A Johannesburg ENGINEERING NEWS  
in English 28 Sep 90 pp 27, 32

[Article by Kim Trollip; first paragraph ENGINEERING NEWS comment]

[Text] Fuelled by the recession and mounting pressures from the Middle East, the oil barrels rolling into South Africa are becoming increasingly costly and environmental constraints are tightening up. The ENGINEERING NEWS staff writer Kim Trollip speaks to the industry about these and other current issues facing it.

The leading oil companies are unanimous about the fact that the market is highly competitive at the moment, that environmental constraints will increase and that the long-term outlook is a positive one.

Total MD [Managing Director] Jean-Claude Goffinet says the present state of the oils and lubricants market remains highly competitive, especially in the current depressed economy.

"The market is very sensitive to changes in the economy.

"When the latter is booming, the oils and lubricants market does well, but tends to move downward when the economic situation becomes tighter."

He says research and development remain a priority if South Africa is to meet the continued changing requirements of automobile and other equipment manufacturers.

"The need to develop and introduce environmentally friendly products, such as bio-degradable oils, is also high on the agenda.

"Our parent company in Europe is extremely active in R&D and is well advanced with technology in the field of environmentally friendly products."

New products from the Total stable include engine lubricants which are compatible with exhaust catalytic converters.



These converters are fitted to vehicles using lead-free petrol in order to protect the environment as decreed by stringent emission regulations.

These oils will be required if lead free petrol is introduced in South Africa.

Current projects being undertaken by Total include an expansion and upgrading of its base oil production facility as well as its lubricating oil blend plant.

Commenting on general trends in the industry, Sasol [South African Coal, Oil, and Gas Corporation] Oil MD Danie de Villiers says the whole environmental issue is being given a lot of attention within the group.

His personal view is that when these issues are considered, a sense of balance has to be maintained.

At present the lead ceiling is at 0.4 g/l.

The Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, in conjunction with the oil industry, is conducting an investigation to establish what the cost and technical requirements would be to move towards lead-free petrol.

Referring to the present state of the industry, De Villiers maintains that when petrol sales were depressed six years ago, South Africa had a surplus of petrol and a shortage of diesel.

At times petrol was even exported, to adjust the position.

"Since then the petrol market has grown at a considerably higher rate than diesel, with the result that, if anything, the country is approaching a situation where there will be a surplus of petrol.

"There is some scope to swing the ration at Secunda and the country's oil refineries but there is a limit to refinery manipulation.

"At times it has become necessary to import cargoes of petrol; particularly high octane petrol."

De Villiers says another problem facing South Africa is a growing insufficiency in refining capacity.

He says coastal refineries are splitting their seams and planning expansions.

"So too is Natref refinery in Sasolburg."

Sasol owns 64 percent of Natref and Total the balance.

It is South Africa's newest refinery, and according to Sasol, has many useful years of life ahead.

Natref has spent a large sum of money over the past two years, modernising the instrumentation system.

Additional funds were spent this year on modernisation of the cracking units to enhance the capacity to operate on heavy and high sulphur feedstocks.

The refinery is currently considering the expenditure of several hundred million rand [R] on further debottlenecking.

De Villiers says the relationship between Sasol and the oil companies remains an anomalous one.

Sasol markets its Blue Pump petrol on their forecourts, but they are also its biggest customers.

At the moment, not more than 10 percent of Sasol's petrol output is sold at the Blue Pump and a negligible amount of its diesel production.

He says it is likely that Sasol would set itself up as a major retailer with its own one-brand outlets as this would demand large capex programmes and soured relationships with the other companies.

This might be against the national interest but, if government pushes ahead with major elements of deregulation of the fuel market, it might change some of these considerations.

Sasol has taken a step into the lubricants market with the acquisition of shares in a local lube blending plant, as well as an interest in a German speciality lubricants company and is starting to make its own product.

Remarkably, the Sasol group itself uses two to three percent of South Africa's lubes in its plants and coal mines.

The group will not enter the open market yet and intends making a good job of switching its own plants and mines to the use of its lubricants first.

Engen, the Gencor-controlled company, markets Mobile, Trek and Sonap fuels.

MD Rob Angel foresees growth ahead of GDP [gross domestic product].

He believes this will require expansion and debottlenecking of all crude oil refineries in the 1990s.

"Environmental standards will unquestionably tighten and follow world trends and Engen is preparing for this."

He says tighter engine builder specifications and therefore improved quality will be required in the lubricants industry.

"It is likely that synthetic oils will also have a wider application."

Expansion plans announced by Engen include the R1.2-billion debottlenecking and upgrading of the Genref refinery in Durban and a R110-million warehouse rebuild.

The first phase will enable Engen to take on refining for Trek.

This is presently being carried out by BP and Shell at the Sapref refinery; the agreement runs out in two year's time.

John Drake, MD of Shell's oil division, says the industry at the moment can be described as "fragmented" and highly competitive, with probably the largest number of independent niche players ever.

"The business is becoming more complex, as it is bound to do in any industrialising economy, with the constantly increasing demand for new products and services."

Referring to long-term trends, Drake says lubricants are often a solution to engineering problems, and with continuing high levels of technological developments, lubricants will have to improve technologically to meet these demands.

He reports that Shell is not planning any new projects at the moment and no expansion projects are being undertaken.

However, Drake says his company has long recognised the need to devote resources to the development of both products and services to keep pace with the equipment using Shell lubricants and also changes in the applications where this equipment may be used.

"Worldwide the group spends many millions of rands each year on lubricants R&D; the results of this keep us in the forefront of technology.

"We have several examples of recent developments which have been motivated by international technical advances and which are being received very positively by the local market.

"Our new range of diesel engine oils, tailored specifically for local market requirements, includes a new super high performance diesel engine oil (SHPDO), which meets the highest performance levels required for American and European/Japanese diesel engines.

"Also included is a range of Rimula X Oils, the first in South Africa to meet the highest performance levels for both diesel and petrol engines.

"Some of our latest products use advanced base oil technology which has been used very effectively in the development of a new compressor oil.

"This product gives a dramatic reduction in the rate of deposit formation in reciprocating compressors, allowing extended maintenance and oil drain periods with improved safety levels.

Drake adds that in today's marketplace one cannot be successful through supplying products alone.

He says customers are attaching more and more importance to technical and other service support.

"With modern technology and progressive thinking, we have found several innovative approaches which have improved our level of service to our customers.

"The next few years promise to be very exciting with some of these developments including some very visible customer benefits," Drake reports.

#### **Reportage of Foreign Minister's Visit to Europe** *WA1411150790*

For coverage of Foreign Minister Pik Botha's visit to Europe, including reports on his talks with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel, see the United Kingdom section of the 14 November West Europe DAILY REPORT and the Czechoslovakia section of the 14 November East Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

## Angola

### Delegation To Present 'Very Good Proposals'

MB1011202890 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 10 Nov 90

[Text] Angolan Information Minister Boaventura Cardoso said in Luanda today that our government's delegation to the next round of exploratory talks with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] is carrying a set of very good proposals.

Addressing a ceremony marking the 15th anniversary of Angola's independence, Boaventura Cardoso said the proposals were drafted after the Special MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party Central Committee Session which announced the introduction of multipartyism by the first quarter of 1991 and the partial revision of the constitution, among other measures.

The minister added that the support given by several U.S. Congressmen to the Solarz amendment will also facilitate the next round of talks between the Angolan Government and UNITA.

Turning to overtures made in the Angolan news media, Boaventura Cardoso said:

[Begin Cardoso recording] We are marking the year of widening of democracy in which we have called for overtures in the news media. However, this implies responsibility on the part of the mass media as well as journalists.

I would like to say that as long as war prevails, those overtures will of necessity be limited. It is not necessary to speak of a general news media overture as long as we are faced with a war situation which causes a number of emotional and social imbalances. It is important that journalists be aware of these limitations, and always bear in mind the war situation we are still experiencing. War prevents us from moving forward. [end recording]

The Angolan information minister added that his ministry will enlighten society with the backing of the Union of Angolan Journalists and other organs in order to facilitate the role of journalists within the framework of overtures in the news media sector.

### UNITA Statement on Country's Anniversary

MB1311072990 (Clandestine) KUP in English to  
Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Jamba, Monday November 12 ..... [headline as received]—Official statement of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], Central Committee on the occasion of Angola's 15th independence anniversary.

1. It was due to the national liberation struggle waged from 1961 to 1974 which gave way to the Alvor Conference in 1975 between the then three liberation movements, UNITA, the MPLA [Popular Movement for the

Liberation of Angola] and the FNLA [Angolan National Liberation Movement] and the Portuguese Government.

During the Alvor summit, the Portuguese Government recognised the three movements as the legitimate representatives of the Angolan people.

While the Alvor Conference was taking place, the then Portuguese Government had already decided the destiny of the Angolan people through treaties with the MPLA, Russians and Cubans, thus betraying the agreements which Portugal had signed.

It is no longer a question of argument as to who entered first. We know that the Cubans entered first in Angola and that their numbers reached 60,000 men by 1988. To date, Cuba still has 15,000 troops in Angola.

This is the source of the betrayal of Angola. The Angolan people, who heroically fought against Portuguese colonialism, could not be cowed by this new foreign occupation.

2. This is the reason for our resistance which began with small nuclei without cohesion and means, but which were consolidated and expanded along the years up today, November 11, 1990. Angolan resistance against neo-colonialism which was solely led by UNITA, won the sympathy and support of all the people of Angola, reinforced the liberation movement's structures, a capable and disciplined army and pursued a diplomacy which won the sympathy of all the world's democracies.

3. During the past 15 years of resistance, in December, 1989, the MPLA decided to launch its major offensive code-named Last Assault, which was aimed not only at capturing Mavinga, but also to completely liquidate the national Angolan resistance.

The battle for Mavinga quickly became a cry of salvation of the national resistance itself. All forces under the UNITA flag in all parts of the country, united in the same ideal, vigorously responded to the appeal by the resistance leadership which made the Mavinga victory a turning point in the history of our country.

If today there are direct negotiations between the MPLA and UNITA, it is solely due to the heavy defeat which the combined MPLA-Russian forces suffered at Mavinga. No negotiation in the history of humanity ignored the facts existing on the ground. For this reason, UNITA has faith that the MPLA and its allies have to draw honest conclusions from their defeat at Mavinga in order for them to honestly negotiate a just solution to the Angolan conflict.

4. UNITA is sincerely and honestly engaged in the present talks with the MPLA so that together we can find the best way to lead our country not only to lasting peace, but also to true democracy which will transfer power to our people.

However, we would like to point out that UNITA has not forgotten the lessons of Alvor of 1975. We hope that the



MPLA does not create any more illusions on an eventual possibility of manoeuvre in order to stave-off all the Angolan people's desire which can be summed up as peace, through a verifiable ceasefire and free and fair elections, which are the only ones which can concretize true national reconciliation.

5. To mark the 15th anniversary of our country's independence, the UNITA leadership thanks all the movement's militants, all components of the armed forces and all friendly countries who, during these long years, gave indispensable moral and material support to our resistance.

Our movement's leadership would also like to use this occasion to exalt the Angolan people to redouble their vigilance in order to avoid any attempt to empty the deep significance of our resistance which will not only change our lives, the life of our nation and country, but will also create a posture of independence and dignity for Angola which our country well deserves.

Angola is not any ordinary country. For this very reason, it deserves a destiny. United in the struggle, we imposed respect and defeats on the enemy. United in the search for peace, we will also impose on the enemy and its allies an honourable peace, true democracy and national reconciliation which will make Angola, our country, the hand [as received] of all Angolans within and outside.

Jamba, bastion of the Angolan resistance, November 11, 1990.

#### **MPLA Reportedly Clashes With Luena Residents**

*MB1311183390 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in English to Southern and Central Africa 1615 GMT 13 Nov 90*

[Text] Jamba, Tuesday Nov. 13.....[dateline as received]—Dozens of civilians on the outskirts of Luena, the provincial capital of Moxico, are reported to have been seriously injured in clashes involving MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] soldiers and local residents.

Sources contacted by KUP say that the incident was sparked off when a group of elite MPLA commandos began loading their trucks with goats, pigs and chickens looted from villagers at gunpoint.

The episode was reported to have taken place on Saturday [10 November]. The domestic animals stolen from the local population were designed to be used by the commandos as part of their festivities marking the country's 15th independence anniversary last Sunday. The sources added that many owners of the looted domestic animals were severely beaten up by the soldiers when they tried to retrieve their animals from the military trucks.

#### **\* Empty Shelves in 'People's Stores' Reported**

*91AF0102C Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 7 Sep 90 p 2*

[Article by Garrido Frago: "Filling the Empty Shelves"]

[Text] The families of Luanda are continuing to do a lot of daily "gymnastics" with their triumph to insure a minimum of products in their pantries.

Turning to the black markets to get supplies, with all the sacrifice that this implies, is still the only way to guarantee that there will be a bowl of soup at mealtime.

The fact is that normal supplies at the so-called "people's stores" leave much to be desired, if we consider the fact that these supplies are replenished only once a month and the products that are contained therein do not satisfy the minimum needs of a household.

According to what was communicated in the information concerning the Adjustment of the Economic Recovery Plan of 1989-1990 of the People's Assembly, "the decision of the Defense and Security Council to impose on the province of Luanda a fixed ceiling of \$120 million initially produced a positive effect in the supplies to that province. However, faced with the oscillations in the assigned ceilings, we are witnessing the occurrence of variations in the levels of supplies to the rest of the country."

The document adds that: "If on the one hand the previously mentioned decision produced favorable effects in the supplies to the normal network, on the other hand, it is noted that such effects have not made themselves felt at the level of collective and business consumption, due to the fact that a corresponding increase has not been provided."

JORNAL DE ANGOLA went to three commercial establishments and talked with their owners, and collected the opinions of some of their shoppers.

First, we went to Store 25, where, just as in the others, they are still in the process of delivering the supplies that correspond to last month, with some products already in short supply because the quantities initially furnished to the above-mentioned establishments were not proportional to the number of customers of those establishments.

From the August plan, each shopper at Store 25 is receiving six cans of vegetable oil, an equal quantity of halves of laundry soap corresponding to the month of July, eight kilos of sugar, 10 boxes of matches, two bottles of wine, one can of tomato paste, six packages of crackers, one can of whole milk, and four packages of food paste. The total cost of all this would come to nearly 2,500 kwanzas if one were to include also the 10 kilos of rice, the two units of tooth paste, and the four bars of soap. These are products that, in spite of being contemplated in the above-mentioned plan, are no longer available at the store.

The above-mentioned products, with the exception of the soap, the wine, and the vinegar, are imported.

Our survey continued at the "Muxima" supermarket and at the "Sociedade Super Quitanda" where we observed a small number of shoppers, inasmuch as the majority of them had already made their purchases.

In the first, we saw that each shopper was being assigned eight kilos of sugar (at 78 kwanzas per kilo), six cans of oil (at 78 kwanzas each), four kilos of beans (46.50 kwanzas per kilo), six packages of crackers (at 20 kwanzas per package), one can of tomato paste (30 kwanzas), two bottles of wine (at 180 kwanzas each), 10 boxes of matches (at 2.5 kwanzas each), two units of tooth paste (at 20 kwanzas each), and four bars of soap (at 60 kwanzas each.) Just as at Store 25, there is also a major shortage of rice, margarine, vinegar, and laundry soap here.

Mario Gomes, the shopkeeper at the "Muxima," told us that these products will be delivered to the shoppers when the National Supermarket Company of Luanda (ENSUL) gives the "green light" to the store so that the store can pick them up.

At the "Sociedade Super-Quitanda," the situation is not very different from what we had seen earlier at "Muxima" and at Store 25. There is a shortage of rice, vinegar, tooth paste, soap, and laundry soap still corresponding to the months of July and August, in spite of the fact that both products figure into last month's plan.

We spoke with Isabel Domingos, 35 years old, a first-grade teacher who has been shopping at the "Super-Quitanda" for more than a year: "A lot of things are going poorly with respect to supplies in the city of Luanda. First, because supplies are not regular. It is already September now and they are still giving us supplies from last month. Second, because the quantities and the quality of the products leave a lot to be desired. That is the case, for example, of the eight kilos of sugar, which in my house only lasts 10 days. My household is quite extensive. And then there is also the laundry soap which, in addition to causing allergies in my children, has a funny smell."

Inacio Francisco, 29 years old, a shopper at "Muxima," is of the opinion that the government should put an end to the complementary stores because, in his opinion, it is inhuman to discriminate against people in food supplies.

"I am absolutely certain that the hard currency that is being spent to acquire products for the respective stores is arriving and is sufficient to supply the "people's stores" at least minimally with quality products and to provide a biweekly expense to the people who shop in these stores."

#### \* Luanda Provincial Commissar on City's Problems

91AF0100A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA  
in Portuguese 16 Sep 90 pp 4-5

[Interview with Luanda Provincial Commissar Luis Gonzaga Wawuti by Adelino de Almeida and Gracas Campos, in Luanda]

[Text] During these times of crisis in Luanda, when the faucets are nearly running dry and the electricity works when it works, the Provincial Commissar agreed to take a little time off from his many, complex business affairs and sit down at the table with two journalists. This meeting provided an opportunity to discuss Luanda's problems. Luis Gonzaga Wawuti talked about every possible subject, from the shortage of financial resources to the water problem, and including cemeteries and housing. Our readers can see for themselves in this interview conducted by Adelino de Almeida and Gracas Campos, with photos by Rogerio Tuty, at one of the restaurants in the Panorama Hotel, the sponsor of these bimonthly events.

[JORNAL] What are the major problems encountered from day to day by the Luanda provincial commissar?

[Wawuti] From a professional standpoint, and especially from the standpoint of the responsibilities of my office, the problems that I generally encounter are the serious social problems afflicting the people of Luanda. And these problems stem from a variety of sources. They have their roots in the current economic situation. And this in turn penetrates the most intimate nooks and crannies of our society itself. The fact that the city's social infrastructure has not been adapted to the population growth that has occurred in the past few years has, for instance, resulted in a shortage of housing, a shortage of water, a shortage of everything for so many people. And the little that does exist, to our misfortune and downfall, is constantly deteriorating, and there are no far-reaching solutions to put an end to these problems at the present time. I am thinking, for instance, of the housing problem.

The question of housing is very closely linked to construction. Construction has been halted. We can say that here in Luanda, there is no more construction going on. The shortage of housing, the shortage of water, the lack of infrastructure, all these problems are troubling us. Not to mention disease and epidemics. As the rainy season is approaching and I look at the problem of cholera, I become extremely nervous... These are problems that make us want to take action, but sometimes we must recognize that it is impossible for us to resolve them successfully.

As a result, there is great suffering, as we can see, and it is not worthwhile to enumerate Luanda's major problems. It would take a long time. Perhaps it would be better if, as you ask questions, I could gradually bring to light the concerns I have right now.



[JORNAL] In your opinion, what are the sources of the difficulties hampering the work of the Luanda Provincial Commissariat, in addition to the war and our usual problems?

[Wawuti] The Commissariat is facing a series of problems. But, before going into them, we have to point out that the Commissariat has two separate areas of work: the government, and community affairs. The latter can be compared to the former Chamber. Thus I believe that it might be a good idea to separate the two areas, because otherwise we are going to wander off the subject when we start talking about the causes of the sickness afflicting the city and its people. I would prefer to be somewhat methodical as I talk. Education and health are government matters, but sanitation and the growth of the city, and issues related to city planning, are linked to community services. Well, roughly speaking, I can say that Luanda's difficulties are linked to the current economic situation resulting from the war. War produces what we all know: disability, the weakening of everything, of man, especially from a psychological and physical standpoint. So we can see that our current economic problems have a major impact on the issues facing us. But there are other factors that also come into play. It is very true that there are things that can be done. For instance, I would like to highlight cultural and civic problems. If we were to take a look at the fact that the few things left in the city, i.e., houses, schools, etc., have been destroyed by the people themselves, if we were to talk about sanitation in the city, for instance, we would realize that frequently we come across empty garbage cans, while at the same time the streets are full of trash. We plant a tree, but the next day we find it uprooted. We want, for instance, to restore the grass and flowers to our parks. The next day we find children and men, adults ruining them. I would like to refer to this cultural aspect. I believe that this is a problem that should be tackled by all of us. All citizens should regard the city above all as a common home that deserves the respect and affection of everybody.

Our Information Service has not made efforts to educate our people in their civic responsibilities, either. I remember an interview that I saw one day on television in which a person from the island was asked why she left an empty tin can in the street. And she replied that the Commissariat would clean it up later. Why do people who go to the beach with cans of drinks and snacks not take their empty tins back with them when they leave and throw them into the trash cans? Why don't we do this? It is so easy!

But Luanda is also the victim of organizational problems arising from the state, the government itself. I must tell our comrades that we are directing the city's affairs, we are managing Luanda without our own funds. In any part of the world local autarchies have financial and administrative autonomy. It is not that way here. We cannot govern by asking for hand-outs from other institutions.

In my opinion, these organizational values, these legal and administrative values will have to be reestablished

in the near future. I am not afraid to have under my control the large sums of money required by the city for its effective administration, because fortunately we have some knowledge of financial management. There may be other reasons, but I believe that they are secondary to the main factors I have just pointed out.

[JORNAL] Is financial autonomy a goal to be achieved then?

[Wawuti] Everything tends to fall into this type of organization. Everything is geared toward this direction. We will be in trouble if we do not organize ourselves along these lines, and work towards converting the local governments into true local autarchies. This is what is happening throughout the world. Why should we be different? We are working towards this end.

[JORNAL] Don't you find it difficult to work here in Luanda since it is here that the organs of the central government are located? Isn't there interference in your work?

[Wawuti] What happens here in Luanda happens in all the capitals in the world, to a greater or lesser degree. The more disorganized the state's administrative apparatus is, the worse the problem is. For instance, when I was in Lisbon I spoke with my counterpart and he told me that he was also experiencing the same problems, but not with the same impact that I feel here. Yet here we are disorganized, and we are also less organized than others. This is therefore a normal phenomenon in capitals. But I think that little by little, as local government becomes more powerful, and as local government is able to solve the problems of the city, because we have the financial resources and sophisticated management skills to do so, or because we have the means for realizing the goals of this same administration, the presence of the central government is going to gradually diminish. We in Luanda need the central government to extend its hand to us. We need this because we do not have any money or financial resources. It is the central government that has these means. When we need funds, we have to go to the secretariat of the Council of Ministers.

[JORNAL] Was the Filipino solution for cleaning the city a success or a failure?

[Wawuti] I personally believe that it was a success. A success, because there are needs that are not compatible with people's vanities. I sincerely hope that now, and at any other point in time, we Angolans will be able to undertake any projects to clean the city or build a factory, or any projects involving the entire production process in the fields of agriculture, industry, or commerce. I would like to see this happen, and that is what we must struggle to achieve. What happened here in Luanda is that we in fact were not prepared to take the dynamic action required in so short a time to bring the city out of the situation in which it found itself. This is the merit of the Filipino solution, that is to say the

contract signed with INTRACO. But this merit in no way justifies the continuation of this contract for a much longer period of time.

We personally have the responsibility of ensuring that in the near future it is the Angolans themselves who, with the experience they have acquired over the past two years, take charge of the sanitation and cleaning of the city.

[JORNAL] Does comrade commissar believe that there was no other alternative?

[Wawuti] I do not think that there was. But incidentally I was not in the Commissariat before.

[JORNAL] What was the value of the contract with the partner firm of the Luanda Provincial Commissariat?

[Wawuti] It was around three million kwanzas. But this amount was reduced. At present we are not paying three million or even two million. We are paying much less. I should also point out that all the supplies and equipment that were purchased will, at the end of the contract, revert to us. All the equipment is the property of the Commissariat.

[JORNAL] And when does the contract expire?

[Wawuti] The contract expires in December, and we will move into another stage of setting up an enterprise which, by the way, is already being established. The foundations are being laid, and we have financing from the EEC. Everything is running smoothly. I can guarantee that in December the contract with INTRACO will not be renewed.

[JORNAL] Who is in charge of housing in Luanda? Is it the Commissariat or Housing? Where do the responsibilities of one end and the other begin?

[Wawuti] This question is related to another one that was asked earlier regarding interference by the central government in the affairs of local government. In theory, local government is naturally local government. It has its responsibilities, and under its jurisdiction it has a territory with certain persons and property existing within it. Here we have the central and the local government. They almost overlap. Theoretically the Commissariat should be in charge. In actual practice things do not always work this way today. At times, the central government wants to take charge of solving certain problems. Personally I would prefer to see the problems solved. It serves no purpose to get into power struggles. I understand that problems must be resolved when they arise.

By myself, or by an organ of the central government. This is what is important.

[JORNAL] How many houses does Luanda need to reduce the housing problem to reasonable proportions?

[Wawuti] We would have to build for five years straight, and at full speed! Our population is nearly two million. More people arrive in the city every day. Now when I

talk about construction I am not thinking in terms of "Rocha Pinto" or "Tunga N'Go." I am thinking of a development that is not patterned after what we have now. I would like to see developments with streets running through them, with parks for our children, with social facilities, hospitals, supermarkets, etc.

Before beginning to build in Luanda, we have to make improvements to many districts or developments which were very poorly built. Translated into numbers, this means that we have to build many thousands of homes.

[JORNAL] I have heard that there are plans to return confiscated properties to their former owners. Is this true?

[Wawuti] I am glad that you brought this up. I can say in all honesty that I have also been asked this question before. I have been asked whether buildings and property would be given back to the former owners for a fee or gratuitously. My response is that I have never read a decision to this effect. I can tell you at this point in time that I do not know what agency issued this decision. I am very interested in knowing where this decision is written and what institution made it. In the People's Assembly at least, and I am a deputy, this problem was never discussed in these terms. The possibility of conveying the title to these properties to their current tenants has been raised. There will be procedures for that, that will specifically have to do with a document approved for that purpose. This is what was discussed to my knowledge. Now, as for returning the property for a fee or in any other way, I can tell you in all sincerity that I know nothing and have never heard anything about this. This must be something new, and I am very interested in knowing more about this matter.

[JORNAL] If this decision is made, what implications do you think that it will have for the people?

[Wawuti] I have the impression that our people have a very keen sense of logic and that if this question were put to a man in the street, he would answer in these terms: "When they abandoned the houses, they became ours, and we have been living in them for 15 years, and now you are saying that they can return again to their homes? This is independence?" This would be their answer then. There are things that do not need many interpretations. I think that this problem must be well explained, and if the suggestion were made, it must be made very clear, and I need to be informed as well. Right now I am completely in the dark on this matter.

In the Provincial People's Assembly and the Provincial Commissariat of Luanda, we have not discussed this issue. There are guidelines that come down from higher authorities; if we should still have the doubts that we do now when we receive them, all we need to do is ask for clarification.

[JORNAL] We can at least draw the conclusion that this measure or this plan is not part of the government's program of action...

[Wawuti] The JORNAL DE ANGOLA has been publishing the government's program of action, and I have yet to find a line that refers to this matter. So I would say that this issue is not included in the government's program of action.

[JORNAL:] The government is not selling construction materials to citizens. On the official market there are no paints, glass, cement, nails, and so forth. Since this is the case, is it right to evict a citizen for failure to maintain his home?

[Wawuti] What is right usually has an important moral foundation. There is no law that does not have an intrinsic moral foundation. Only in extreme cases when the moral itself so advises does anyone have a right to evict a person. At first analysis, I believe that if the government needs to evict somebody because of failure to maintain a home in proper condition, then it must offer that person an alternative. And I can tell you that we have examples in the Commissariat. It happened in Malanga, and I cannot say that it was exactly because of failure to keep the property in good repair, but more because of poor use of the premises. There in front of the "Palanca" property were some tin houses. We spoke with our compatriots and told them that the land had been approved for a building and that they had to leave the property, but that this did not mean that they were left without protection or shelter.

We told them that we were going to build houses more or less comparable to what they had, and that this project would begin shortly. They agreed. We have also received many requests regarding certain properties. We have told the interested parties that we were interested, that we too wanted to have underused or deteriorated buildings restored. Everything the government has been trying to do is for the sole purpose of improving the well-being of its citizens. Consequently, what we have told these citizens is that if they can arrange for the construction materials, we at the Commissariat will make the arrangements for the properties, and they can build housing. Now, obviously only people who have money, who have the capability, can do this. Well, if we are to rescue our compatriots from living in deteriorating conditions, if there is a soul who wants to build and help our fellow citizens live more comfortably, I do not think that we should hesitate. We must say yes.

[JORNAL] But it seems to me that it is only foreign firms that are offering specific alternatives in these cases. The government, for instance, spoke of dislocating some inhabitants of Kinanga to the Gulf, because of the construction of the Mausoleum. But the fact is that it did not offer any specific alternative arrangements...

[Wawuti] If you are talking about the government's relative powerlessness, we can talk about this. I can tell you, for instance, that we are powerless to improve the city industrially so that, as an example, we can prevent neighborhoods such as Rocha Pinto from arising. And in this regard I can tell you that the Commissariat's powerlessness

is in the sense that it has to admit the fact that it still cannot give land to people who want to build. Because it is not enough just to say to an ordinary citizen that he should not build here. We have to tell him that he should not build here but he can build there, that he cannot build in this way but he can in that way. Now, we cannot deny this powerlessness of ours, and when you say that the government has not been offering concrete alternatives to its citizens, you must also realize that it was the government that was negotiating the transaction. It was not the foreigner who came to our country and said: "I want this and I am going to do that." Not at all! We are the ones who told him: "If you want this you must do that;" it was a government action, and that should be clearly understood. It was not a direct action, from the standpoint of managing financial resources, but it emerged as a government policy. And in areas where government is powerless, naturally we must realize that there is a whole range of factors behind this powerlessness. But I would call this the relative powerlessness of the local government. And this is a fact that we cannot deny.

[JORNAL] How would you explain the situation of the unfinished buildings in the city of Luanda? Also, is there a solution to the problem of the so-called Kinaxixi Lagoon?

[Wawuti] Kinaxixi Lagoon is one matter, and the building is another. There are many buildings in the same situation as the building on Kinaxixi Lagoon. As far as I know, buildings have been left unfinished because of financial difficulties and frequently also because of uncertainty. What happened before, I do not know. I do not know the story of each one of the buildings that was not completed. But at the present time I can tell you that financial problems and problems of uncertainty are hampering completion of these buildings.

As for Kinaxixi Lagoon, what I can tell you is that the building is in an area where there is groundwater from the drains themselves. And the Kinaxixi property is like others where there are cellars in which motorized pumps must always be installed to draw off the water. Since that building was not completed, the motorized pumps were not installed and these are the results. Just a short time ago this matter was re-opened. The entire lagoon was emptied and we confirmed that the water was from the sewerage system that formed a sort of groundwater and that the water was accumulating there. This is a problem that will be resolved and that we must resolve, but it will have to be resolved with the completion of the building. But it is easy to keep the water from going in there: from time to time we go over there with a motorized pump and drain it off. This is the only thing that we can do for the time being. Now of course we do need to complete construction of the building. That building and many others as well. But, as I told you, the basic problems have to do with a shortage of financial resources and ambiguities.

[JORNAL] The government's program of action speaks of the need for more curbs on spending. But I think that



this is also an easy way to justify the actions it has failed to take. People never used to talk so much about a shortage of money...

[Wawuti] It may not have been easy for others, but I can tell you quite frankly that it has not been difficult for me to explain that activities that were not undertaken because of a lack of money. I have no problems saying that the Commissariat does not have any money. We have urgent actions to take, but we cannot do anything about them because we do not have any money. For instance, there is a major concern over Luanda's sewerage system—this was already a concern of the colonial government—and construction of the Senado da Camara rainwater canal is very important for Luanda's drainage system. But we cannot move on this project because we do not have the money or the technical capabilities. But we are making efforts, looking for partners and financing, and we will see whether the activities we are involved in will bring in the investments to solve this problem. All of this just to say that we have no qualms in admitting that we do not have any money. Neither do we want to justify certain failures by resorting to false explanations. What we are interested in is being realistic and speaking openly to our people. There is one thing about managing a city: if the people are aware of the problems that the management team is having, frequently the people themselves can work a miracle and help. We therefore want the people to know what our problems are, because it is in their interest to have these problems solved. This is our philosophy.

[JORNAL] A little while ago you said that there is a certain ambiguity. It seems to me that this ambiguity refers to the owners of some unfinished buildings in the city of Luanda, and because of this problem no progress can be made despite the fact that limited resources are available at the present time. Would you like to give an example?

[Wawuti] From what I know of the story of these incomplete buildings, frequently the central government organ which at that point was in charge of that matter distributed the properties to other structures, so that property Y would be given to institution X, and so forth, and later on an establishment interested in completing the building would appear, after these properties had already been distributed. Now the interested party was often told that the building was already given to such-and-such a ministry. The person was at a loss. Later I learned that there was a further redistribution and I must point out that the local government was not authorized to manage any of these buildings that were abandoned. If someone wanted to complete construction of a building and came to ask me about it, I would tell him to "go see so-and-so or such-and-such an agency." This is what I call ambiguity. By this I mean that we need to define who is qualified to complete the buildings. But now when we are told that the person competent to complete the building is its owner, that is ambiguous in my opinion.

[JORNAL] But this would have a disadvantage: Since the government does not have the financial capabilities to finish the buildings, it would virtually always be foreign firms that would profit from these properties, because they are the ones that are in a financial position to do so. On one hand this would be beneficial to the country, but on the other the properties would be owned by foreign firms....

[Wawuti] As far as I know, there is always an honorable way to conduct a transaction of this sort without harming government property. I know for instance that there are buildings that were built and that will be the property of the Angolan State in the future. What do we want now? We want to solve a problem provided we are guaranteed ownership in the future.

A transaction is something that is favorable to two parties. If what we want is to defend our national heritage, we can defend it by entering into good transactions and ensure that housing does not deteriorate and fall down.

I will say something more in connection with this ambiguity: The Luanda Municipal Chamber abandoned construction of a building in Quicombo. When we got involved at the Commissariat, we had to negotiate with the Ministry of Construction to get that building returned to the Commissariat. My question is: If the building belonged to the Chamber, why wasn't it automatically transferred to the Commissariat since it is the heir of all the Chamber's property? Fortunately we had a good talk and everything was resolved, but it occurred at a time when the building already had a contract for completion of construction, and we had to argue that the building was our property and that we needed it for our employees. But you see how these things happen. The building belonged to the Chamber, and everything that belonged to the Chamber was conveyed to the Commissariat, but the building was not completed because of debts that were not the Commissariat's.

[JORNAL] Speaking of government property. I know that the official residence of the former governors of Luanda was on Av. Lenin. Moreover, the various provincial commissars of Luanda have also lived there. Is that residence still the property of the Luanda Provincial Commissariat at the present time?

[Wawuti] That is the official residence of the Luanda provincial commissar. But when we came to the Commissariat, we encountered the following situation: a retiring commissar did not have a home and he has lived there to this day. We have been trying to arrange housing for that comrade. We have found a home for him now, and so we are currently just waiting for our comrade to decide to vacate the house.

[JORNAL] What is the status of the cemetery problem? "Alto das Cruzes" is full, as is "Santana," and the "14" is a mess! By the way, have you visited this cemetery? When is the new cemetery supposed to be open?

[Wawuti] I must tell you from the bottom of my heart that the problem of the cemeteries affects me deeply and we are therefore working to solve it.

The problem of the cemeteries stems from factors over which we had no control. It is not our fault that the steps that have been taken were small. But, as I told you, it saddens me to note that many people are dying. The problem is being solved. We are building a new cemetery in the Gulf. It is almost ready. When the situation became urgent, we stepped up our work on this cemetery, but when we thought about it more we realized that the cemetery did not have the necessary dignity. We would prefer that these "14" scenes continue a while longer so that we can have a worthy cemetery and people will not feel repulsed to bring their loved ones to the new cemetery. Therefore, I would like to report that the problem is being resolved. When you ask me whether I am acquainted with the "14," I can tell you that I am aware of the problems of the "14" and other problems that you could not imagine. Only the people who are afflicted with them and the leaders of the Commissariat who are close to these people know about them.

[JORNAL] You say that the problem of the new cemetery is being resolved. Can we talk in terms of the date it will open?

[Wawuti] We will have the new cemetery before the end of the year.

[JORNAL] I apologize for my ignorance of the subject, but does it take that long to build a cemetery? Construction started several years ago already...

[Wawuti] We have already dealt with the problem of construction of the cemetery.

[JORNAL] Is it being built by a local or a foreign firm?

[Wawuti] By a consortium, in an initial phase. But in this last phase of completion, we had to take down the walls built by the consortium. We resorted to a consortium because there are projects that deserve special treatment, that deserve the use of special equipment. From what I know, there was major earthwork to be done at that place. It was an incline where there were water problems, and if special engineering work was not done, the graves could erode.

[JORNAL] When the new cemetery is open, will Alto das Cruzes be closed for good?

[Wawuti] When the new cemetery is in use, the others will be closed temporarily, until they have the capacity to be used again.

[JORNAL] Will Alto das Cruzes be closed even for leaders?

[Wawuti] There is no set rule that there are cemeteries for leaders and cemeteries for other people. What is true is that there is a custom for some leaders to be buried in the oldest cemetery. Yet there is no decision by the

Commissariat to have a separate cemetery for leaders and other cemeteries for other people. What is there is a custom. Some people prefer to bury their loved ones at the "Alto das Cruzes," either because it is the prettiest cemetery or because it is in the city. And this is why we want to give a certain dignity to this new cemetery so that people will not be loathe to leave their loved ones there.

But I can personally tell you that when I die I would like to be cremated, and perhaps in the near future the people might consider building a cremation furnace for those people who would like to be cremated. This issue was raised one day and some people said that this would offend the people and their culture. But my question is: Do we have a single culture today?

[JORNAL] How do you regard the phenomenon of the parallel markets, and specifically the safety of the people who frequent them?

[Wawuti] There are sectoral programs. The police have programs to prevent crime. These programs are designed to reduce delinquency day and night in homes, markets, and other places. In connection with the "Cala-Boca," I would inform you that it is no longer in the same place where it was. It was transferred to larger premises where a delinquent would think twice before committing a crime. Moreover, we are organizing the markets themselves. The temporary stalls now come under the protection of the Commissariat itself. The Commissariat used to monitor only the official markets. Now we are also covering the temporary markets (the ones that crop up in unexpected places).

[JORNAL] But are you not concerned about the sanitary conditions at "Roque Santeiro," for instance?

[Wawuti] I am not happy about what is happening at "Roque Santeiro," but I am aware of many "Roques Santeiros" in the world, in countries more highly organized than ours that do not have the social, organizational, and political problems that we do. However, I am concerned about the possible consequences of this situation, such as delinquency, which is what is worrying me the most right now. These are the negative consequences of that market. If "Roque Santeiro" could operate without crime, poor sanitation, and promiscuity, at that point I would not be worried about letting it go on its own. I already know that there are plans to build a development that would be a continuation of "Miramar" in the area occupied by "Roque Santeiro." In view of this fact, that market has no future, but I would like it to have a good present and not to be causing all these problems I have just referred to. This is our concern.

[JORNAL] What is your educational background?

[Wawuti] I have a degree in law. We could also talk about my occupational training; I am a member of the cadre with a specialization in finance, in tax matters, and it was in this area that I began working and moved up to the post of director of the third category.

My legal training fits very well with my occupational training, in the area of tax law or financial law.

[JORNAL] The Commissariat is headed by a man with a background in tax law, but it does not assess taxes...

[Wawuti] It never used to assess taxes. Now it does. The first thing we did when we started working at the Commissariat was to put the tax inspectors in the streets. It is true that in the beginning they made some blunders. They collected taxes in any possible way and they did not treat the people with respect, and I received frequent complaints about their behavior. But after thinking about it we also concluded that it was better to begin now with these men that we had than to do nothing. Later on they made improvements. They are now collecting many fines and taxes that were never collected before. This system of collecting fines and taxes must evolve within the general system. State taxes have nothing to do with the Commissariat or local government. Tax regulations are issued by the Ministry of Finance.

[JORNAL] Has the Commissariat not ever considered the possibility of charging a toll between here and Luanda Island?

[Wawuti] We have discussed this and concluded that this is not yet an opportune time to do so, because there would be a great deal of confusion. We are still working on the criteria to be applied, because we need to adopt more reasonable criteria. We do not impose taxes at a whim, but for a reason. And the reason cannot be just the government's, or in other words unilateral. It must be a reason the people can support. Taxes are also imposed because of social objectives. This is why any taxes of the Commissariat must be approved by the Provincial People's Assembly.

This must be a gradual process, for these are things that must be done very carefully, with a great deal of thought, because taking a penny out of a citizen's pocket without immediately giving him something in return is a very serious thing.

[JORNAL] Before taking over at the Commissariat, you worked at the Central Commission for the Control and Revision of the Party. Are you pleased with your experience there?

[Wawuti] Very pleased. We regard the Party as our thing, something that belongs to all of us activists. When we are authorized to work on sensitive issues, we feel that the Party trusts us, we feel that we are useful and cared about. But for me personally, instead of making me vain, it is a source of concern to me. It is the concern of tackling the new tasks entrusted to us with ever increasing responsibility. The concern we have is to make a major effort to rise above the commonplace, to be serious in our work, because people have placed their confidence in us, somebody trusts us and expects something from us.

[JORNAL] What was your first thought when you were asked to assume the office of provincial commissar of Luanda, in view of the fact that in general all of your predecessors were members of the party's highest echelons and also in view of the fact that this is where the country's leaders are based?

[Wawuti] Well at the time I thought that the person who spoke with me was joking. But when I realized that it was a serious offer, I had an immediate thought: Being at that time an official of the Central Control Commission, I had a responsibility as a party activist. When I had to answer whether or not I would accept the offer, I said that I was a party member and as such I had to accept the responsibility. To turn it down would not be consistent with what I thought a party member should be, and it would essentially be a contradiction, and a violation of the very principles of the party and the charter. I feel as though I am a person who has a job to perform in the party.

[JORNAL] Where were you born, how old are you? You are married and have children, what is your family life like? Do you live in an apartment or a house?

[Wawuti] I am from Huambo and by a happy coincidence I was born on 11 November 1944. I am married to a woman who is my close friend and who has been my companion in my work. She also happened to be born on 4 February 1951. She was born in Sao Tome, and she came to Angola when she was very young; she must have been about four years old. But she is Angolan. We have four children, to whom we devote all our attention. The eldest was 16 on the 11th of this month. We live in a house in Malanga.

[JORNAL] Do you have a generator in your home?

[Wawuti] I bought a generator a little over a year ago. Fortunately it covers my home and gives a little power to some neighboring homes. I was happy to share my generator with my neighbors. Now, it is a nuisance to have this generator and be able to provide enough power for only three or four neighbors. I would like to share it with more neighbors, and the generator is not powerful enough. But my concern is that the generator is not the solution. The solution is for the electricity not to fail. We must work on this. We must work to improve things, because, to repeat, generators are not the solution.

[JORNAL] You must have some specific ambition. Do you want to disclose it?

[Wawuti] I have a special ambition, a very special one, and that is to live my life in a healthy environment. And this healthy environment applies to our jobs, to the social group we belong to, to the neighborhood where we live. I am therefore fighting for the harmony and well-being of people. My basic ambition is still to be useful to myself and to others in society. This is my greatest ambition.



[JORNAL] How do you feel when you are unable to solve a problem such as that of a citizen who comes to you to ask for housing, for instance?

[Wawuti] I usually grant interviews on Wednesdays. I have told some friends that Wednesdays are my worst days at work, because it is usually on Wednesdays that I find myself with a citizen who needs many things, and when I manage to solve his problems I am happy, but when I do not manage to, I am sad and very preoccupied. If it is a question of how I feel, that is my feeling. When I feel that I cannot solve a compatriot's problem, especially when it has to do with housing, for instance, I feel sad. I almost feel indignant. But what can I do? We know that in the short, medium, or long term, these problems are going to be solved. So we have to work on them.

[JORNAL] Do you know how to dance? Do you go to parties?

[Wawuti] I began dancing very late. I attended a seminary, and there we did not dance. There we cultivated bachelorhood. When I began dancing, it was already quite late. I learned to dance and I enjoy dancing. I enjoy family parties.

[JORNAL] How much do you earn?

[Wawuti] I have a paper that says I earn 27,000 kwanzas. After deducting fiscal stamps and taxes, that amount decreases. Food is not included. I buy the food out of my money.

[JORNAL] Do you have a country property?

[Wawuti] I had a small farm, but now we would like to make it a more extensive thing. But when I started working at the Commissariat, I left it and it has been deteriorating. My wife had to hold it together. The truth is that I cannot live on my salary. But one thing is certain: I do not buy tomatoes and cabbage at "Roque Santeiro" and frequently I get my chickens from my relatives who are working there. We want to raise more animals. I view this small effort at farming as a way of compensating for the low salaries.

[JORNAL] What are your favorite dishes?

[Wawuti:] In terms of national dishes, I like corn mush. But I would also not pass up "fungo de bombo." A mixture of the two would be so much the better. To go with it, I would choose "calulu" or dried game meat. But I also like European cuisine, and especially Portuguese cooking. A good Portuguese cozido [a type of stew] is not to be spurned.

[JORNAL] When will the water problem be solved for good?

[Wawuti] I do not think that a final solution to the water problem will be found in the medium term. It will take a long time. The Portuguese themselves have been here for over 500 years and have not solved the problem. Why do

we only go back 15 years in accounting for this problem? Why don't we take a look at what we inherited?

[JORNAL] But in 1975 Luanda did not have the problems it has today...

[Wawuti] It had problems, and very serious ones. Moreover, Luanda did not have the expansion it has today; it had a small population, and even at that there was not enough water for everybody. Now, we are paying for everything that was poorly planned.

[JORNAL] Shouldn't the Commissariat penalize enterprises that excavate in the streets and do not fill the holes?

[Wawuti] From time to time, I view these problems with a certain reticence, with a certain distaste. But, on the other hand, we know the underlying reasons for these phenomena. What is happening? There used to be the so-called municipalized services. Services in the area of supplying electricity and drinking water were the responsibility of a structure called the Municipal Chamber of Luanda, and this was the agency that used to do these jobs. It dug holes to install facilities for water or electricity and then it patched them up. Today that is not what is happening. There are no linkages between the various services. EDEL [Luanda Electric Power Company], for example, digs holes to resolve a particular problem, but afterwards there is no link with the Commissariat's services to fill in these holes. Before, when a team was called to a site to solve a water or an electrical problem, that team was complete. It opened up and closed off the holes. This coordination has been disrupted today. Now we have to correct this. We already have a good base; the linkages among the various sectors are constantly improving.

The problem is a structural one. When a structure is poorly put together it functions poorly. We have to work to improve things.

## Mauritius

### \* 1990 Tourism Statistics Noted

91AF0025C Victoria SEYCHELLES NATION  
in French 12 Sept 90 p 3

[Article signed L'Express]

[Text] Tourism is doing nicely. According to recent forecasts from the ministry of planning, Mauritius expects some 282,000 tourists in 1990, compared to 262,000 last year. Raw receipts from this economic sector are estimated at 3.3 billion rupees, compared to 2.8 billion in 1989.

These same sources note that the sale of sugar abroad in principle should add 5 billion rupees to the Mauritian economy, while raw receipts from the free trade zone are estimated at some 11 billion rupees. In terms of value added, the sugar industry is unsurpassed. The free trade zone will net only 1.5 billion rupees in 1990.

During the first half of this year, Mauritius's tourist industry served 126,700 visitors, an 8-percent increase over the same period in the previous year.

The countries sending the most tourists to Mauritius are still France, Reunion, and South Africa. These three markets alone account for approximately 60 percent of the tourists visiting the country.

During the first semester, some 54,400 tourists came from Europe: 25,900 from France, 9,200 from the Federal Republic of Germany, 7,300 from Great Britain, 7,100 from Italy, and 4,900 from Switzerland. South Africa sent 18,800 visitors in the same period. In addition, 31,200 Reunionese and 3,200 Malagasy visited Mauritius between January and June.

Occupancy rates in hotels remained unchanged at about 60 percent. This situation is explained, however, by the number of hotels in operation this year compared to the previous year. The number of hotel rooms rose from 3,500 to 4,300, while the number of beds rose by 22.2 percent.

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Occupancy rates for the large hotels have improved slightly: 74 percent in 1990 versus 70 percent in 1989. The number of employees in hotels employing more than 10 people grew by 24 percent, from 7,200 in March 1989 to 8,900 in 1990.

In addition, the number of passengers disembarking at Plaisance rose 12 percent in the period from January to June period, basically unchanged from the previous year.

## Mozambique

### Head of State Receives Outgoing FRG Envoy

*MB1311213590 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 13 Nov 90*

[Report from the president's office by Emilio Manhique]

[Text] President of the Republic Joaquim Alberto Chissano said in Maputo today that there are disbelieving people who do not understand the Mozambican peace process. President Joaquim Chissano noted that those people think that, quote, we are reaching compromises, unquote. The Mozambican head of state emphasized that we are not reaching compromises with anyone and added that what is happening in Mozambique is the development of democracy.

President Joaquim Chissano said this when he received the outgoing FRG ambassador to Mozambique, who bade farewell to the Mozambican head of state.

President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano said, quote, we have never valued power for its own sake, unquote.

He added that we are determined to hold correctly organized elections. The Mozambican head of state affirmed that we will continue if we are elected. However, he stressed that should the people choose others, we will then support that choice.

The president of the Republic expressed satisfaction over the fact that German unification occurred at a time when Mozambique enjoyed excellent relations with the FRG and the GDR. President Joaquim Chissano noted that he has not forgotten what Chancellor Helmut Kohl said when he visited Mozambique. The FRG leader said, quote, I have come here to help, unquote. The Mozambican head of state said that this aid has begun to make itself felt.

He expressed the hope that Europe will remain attentive to Southern Africa. President Joaquim Chissano noted the fact that the EEC has spoken in favor of increasing cooperation with Mozambique as soon as peace has been attained.

In turn, outgoing FRG Ambassador to Mozambique Reinhart Kraus said that there has been much progress in cooperation with Mozambique. He noted that with peace, as the basis for cooperation, appearing to be on the horizon, new possibilities for Mozambican-FRG cooperation will open up. The outgoing FRG ambassador said that the new Germany will continue the projects of the former GDR in this country.

### President Chissano Opens Trade Union Conference

*MB1211194490 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1831 GMT 12 Nov 90*

[Speech by President Joaquim Chissano at the opening of the Mozambique Workers Organization's second national conference in Maputo on 12 November—recorded]

[Text] It is only fair that we should pay homage to every worker in the fields of agriculture, livestock, industry, transportation, communications, construction, trade, and general services.

We would like to pay particular tribute to those workers who, despite attacks from the forces of destabilization, are helping trains and trucks to make their rounds; repairing power lines; building and rehabilitating roads, bridges, dams, and water lines; and producing cashew nuts, cotton, and other essential products for the Mozambican economy and to meet our people's principal needs.

Their exemplary commitment and dedication are guarantees that we will triumph in our struggle for national reconstruction. This is a time of the greatest importance for Mozambican workers. This is an opportunity for them to profoundly analyze and reflect upon their lives, their problems, and the ways now opening up for them to deal with these problems.

The Mozambique Workers Organization's [OTM] second national conference is being held at a time of great political, economic, social, and cultural change in

our country. The issue of peace is a major concern for all Mozambican people at this stage. We all want acts of violence and terrorism to end for good. These acts of violence and terrorism have brought death and suffering to thousands of Mozambicans. We want the continued destruction of our country's economic and social infrastructures to end.

It is within this context that the Mozambican Government, in observing the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Fifth Congress' decisions, has begun direct talks with Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] with the aim of restoring peace and tranquillity in the country and promoting national reconstruction.

Our people desire lasting and true peace based on the harmonization of the interests of every group and social strata making up the Mozambican nation. The people want peace, but this peace must mean respect for ownership, freedom, human dignity, and life. Decisions on fundamental issues must be made in a democratic manner without the pressure of weapons.

The holding of the third round of Mozambican Government-Renamo peace talks currently under way in Rome arises from our efforts to normalize the life of the country. On behalf of the Mozambican Government, we would like to take this opportunity to salute all those who have participated in the search for peace in our country. We would like to encourage them to continue their efforts. Our country is going through a historic stage of deepening democracy. The process of revising the Constitution was undoubtedly an unquestionable demonstration of the Frelimo Party's and the Mozambican state's democratic nature.

Our citizens, and even Mozambican communities abroad, have viewed this process with great and patriotic interest and have always made themselves available throughout Mozambican territory and in every economic and social sphere. The ground we have covered in discussing the draft constitution permitted a deepening of the concept of democracy based on the free participation of citizens in updating the country's fundamental law.

The People's Assembly recently approved the Constitution of the Republic enshrining the contributions made by citizens during that process and granting wider democratic rights and freedoms. The Constitution clearly defines the roles of state organs and social and political organizations in trying to achieve their aims as well as fulfilling specific and national interests, thereby consolidating national unity and the country's integrity.

The Constitution enshrines every citizen's right to work, to freely choose his or her profession, to fair remuneration, to holidays, to rest, and to social security. The Constitution also defines the right to strike, and its practical implementation will be defined under the terms of a specific law. Dear delegates: This law was necessary so that the right to strike may really serve the workers' interests instead of being used by opportunists to satisfy their own greedy aims. This law ensures that the right to

strike will not be used by forces that are hostile to the workers themselves, their state, or the Frelimo Party, which fights for the ideals of all Mozambican workers.

That law is necessary for the employers, the state organs, the trade unions, and the workers to have the same basis on which to settle their labor disputes. Thus, we hope that all participants will draw up this law on labor relations in a spirit of cooperation. As is its duty, the Frelimo Party will once again be committed to ensuring that this law, first, protects the workers in our country and also defends economic and social development for the well-being of all Mozambican people.

We hope that there will be good future collaboration among all labor relations forces on the basis of realism, creativity, and objectivity so that disruption can be avoided, thereby reducing the need for people to resort to strikes. Also within the framework of deepening democracy in the country, the Constitution enshrines a multiparty system. This process allows several groups and social layers to politically organize themselves so that they can freely express their own opinions within the framework of the national interest.

Nevertheless, it must be said that democracy amounts to more than just the existence of many parties. If we have antidemocratic parties, we will not have achieved the democracy that we so desire.

Democracy is substantive when it guarantees that all citizens share rights and are equal before the law. Democracy is substantive when the citizens can really participate in the decisionmaking process concerning the country's future. Democracy is substantive when it guarantees that each citizen is free to participate in the country's economic and social life by contributing with his or her positive initiative toward the country's development.

Democracy presupposes social justice, respect for human rights, and respect for the citizens' right to free choice. The concept of democracy means that sovereignty rests with the people. All these principles enshrine the people's power. Our country is going through difficult times characterized by a serious economic crisis arising from the effects of the war, natural disasters, and an international situation that does not favor development in South-South countries.

Within this context, the Mozambican Government began implementing the Economic Rehabilitation Program [PRE] three years ago. When it was conceived, the PRE's aim was to stem the national economy's downward trend and promote economic recovery even under war conditions. We have approved laws and norms that provide for bonuses and other awards for workers. We have defined the obligation of enterprises to share the medical expenses incurred by the workers and their direct relatives. We have instructed enterprises to set grades and give them to their cadres. We have instructed enterprises to promote the improvement of the workers and their professional qualifications.



Despite the positive results it achieved, the PRE continues to demand commitment, hard work, and even sacrifices from all of us. Given the extensive damage suffered by our infrastructure and the disruption of Mozambique's social tissue, we are aware that we must still confront many obstacles and difficulties. We have a long and thorny path ahead. We recognize that, at this stage and in the near future, we will not be able to fully satisfy the workers' principal needs.

Despite our country's economic growth over the last few years, it is not yet possible to pay for the real value of work. Nevertheless, this is our aim and we must try to ensure that our few resources are justly distributed. For these reasons, we must praise the understanding, the spirit of sacrifice, and, above all, the perseverance the workers have shown. OTM plays an important role within the context of ongoing work to deepen democracy, rebuild the national economy, and defend the workers' interests. The Mozambican state recognizes the fact that OTM, in its capacity as representative of the workers, must defend and protect trade union work.

The inclusion in our Constitution of important aspects of the labor world is only a reaffirmation for the future of what has always been our state's concern with implementing principles of equality and social justice. As in the past, despite changing circumstances, people continue to be our nation's principal wealth because of their great labor capabilities. People must always be the object and subject of our development.

The Constitution is the basis of every legislation issued by our state organs. This means that a foundation has been laid down for perfecting and developing a normative body that will be favorable to workers in all sectors.

The Constitution lays down a foundation for workers' education and professional training, establishment of better hygiene conditions, protection and safety at work, a just settlement of labor disputes by safeguarding the legitimate interests of all social (?sides), and the effective development of the social welfare system.

The effective implementation of regulations that correctly address labor issues will contribute toward improving national human resources, thereby rendering them more productive. In turn, this helps attract more investment and generate more national wealth, thereby increasing the workers' purchasing power. This has a positive effect that helps to improve our people's welfare. The OTM must principally focus its work in the defense of workers' rights and aspirations by putting forward national interests.

The OTM thus becomes an important instrument to resolve workers' problems, particularly in the social field. The OTM must actively contribute toward a just implementation of trade union policies, the professional training of workers, establishment of better hygiene and safety conditions at work, and the correct implementation of social security regulations.

The OTM must fight to strengthen and consolidate trade union structures in all working centers. Through trade unions at various levels, the OTM must be moulded so as to involve and represent the interests of all workers, regardless of their workplace and affiliation or non-affiliation in the organization. The OTM's work does not only benefit its members but all workers. Accordingly, all workers must give their material or any other kind of contribution for the OTM's smooth running.

For example, when the OTM establishes a professional training center or a social center, when trade unions successfully carry out a collective negotiation, the results do not only benefit its members but all workers. We therefore call on all workers who are not yet OTM members to join the organization through their trade unions.

Increasing production and productivity in our country is vital for the economy's growth and the improvement of Mozambican people's economic and social welfare. Accordingly, during this period of deep political, economic, and social changes, it is important for the OTM to effectively and solidly carry out this task.

Comrades, the Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique approved on 3 November and which comes into effect on 30 November states in Article 41 and I quote, the economic order of the Republic of Mozambique lies in the validation of work, unquote. Accordingly, the state must act in such a way as to facilitate the participation of workers in joint decision-making that might improve production at workplaces. There must be greater involvement of trade unions. The OTM must play a more significant role in conjunction with government organs to determine national economic policy, particularly with regard to labor.

The practical implementation of the correct ideals resulting from debates will only be useful when we are able to create the necessary basic conditions, when we are able to coordinate all actions for effective work. Accordingly, there is a need for a patient and objective dialogue on the basis of mutual trust. To create a sense of objectivity, it is important to carry out study work. We must avoid emotions, automatic copying, and exaggerated simplifications.

What is more, Article 41 states and I quote, the economic order is based on market forces, economic agents' initiatives, and the participation of all kinds of societies, unquote. However, while market forces and economic agents' initiatives can promote innovation and competition, discover and satisfy consumer wishes, as well as promote an economic growth, they cannot on their own guarantee the protection of social and public interests. Nor can they guarantee the just distribution of the benefits of economic activity.

It is vital to take into account and respect market laws. However, it is equally vital as is rightly stipulated in Article 41 to ensure and I quote, the action of state as a

regulator and promoter of economic and social development growth with a view to satisfying our people's basic needs and promoting their social welfare.

The Frelimo Party, the OTM, as well as other social organizations must always work jointly in order to achieve objectives of development, social justice, and respect for human rights which is much validated by our country, on the basis of implementing broader democracy in all fields of national life.

The OTM must encourage the negotiation and signing of collective labor agreements as important instruments to regulate judicial and labor relations, as well as to defend workers' rights and duties. The OTM and trade unions must give priority to laws regulating productive activity and production relations, by ensuring that every worker is individually a promoting agent of the implementation of laws and an intransigent defender of labor laws. We shall thus be able within the law to ensure a legitimate defense of workers's rights and duties.

Mozambican citizens' right to create trade unions is a gain of the struggle for national liberation carried out by workers and all Mozambican people in general, under Frelimo's leadership. Nor shall we ever forget the path trodden under Frelimo's leadership in organizing Mozambican workers. We began with dynamization groups at workplaces. This was followed by production councils and then trade union committees. The Frelimo Party's objective was always to promote the growth of political awareness so that Mozambican workers could achieve a certain level of organization that would have enabled them to actively participate in the discussion of problems of their common interest, in defense of a democratic and popular order, and in defense of national interests.

We are proud to see workers gathered here today. We are proud to see workers organized into trade unions which cover all aspects of trade union activity, demonstrating great maturity and full initiative.

These gains must be preserved and correctly made use of. We are convinced that the OTM will still continue with greater effectiveness to carry out the task of organizing workers into trade unions that will be able to play a decisive role in organizing workers and guaranteeing their political awareness.

The OTM must continue to promote and broaden international trade union cooperation. It must be the channel that will transmit the solidarity of Mozambican workers with other countries' workers. Within the framework of international trade union cooperation, it is important that the OTM continues to contribute toward economic development, the professional training of Mozambican workers, and the training of trade unionists.

At the level of international forums, the OTM must assist national efforts in search of peace and tranquillity for the country. To make all this possible, the OTM must pay special attention to the policy of cadres. Trade union

workers, cadres and other leaders must distinguish themselves through their exemplary behavior, their devotion and commitment to fulfilling the organization's tasks. The OTM's work experience and subsequent qualitative growth over the past seven years, its organizational experience, as well as workers' participation in search of solutions to their problems and in defense of their individual and collective interests, through legitimate channels, makes it possible for us today to better define the objectives of our organization and structures at this conference.

As we pointed out earlier, the present OTM national conference is taking place during a difficult period in the history of the Mozambican fatherland. They are many and complex problems to be discussed. Your responsibility as workers' representatives is heavy. There are hundreds of thousands of workers who are anxiously awaiting this conference's results. It is our hope that this conference will study and find ways of applying the decisions of the Frelimo Party Fifth Congress and enriching them creatively.

We are convinced that you will be able to validate the mandate that is entrusted to you by your electors by applying every strength and intelligence so that the objectives of this conference may be achieved. These objectives will only be possible if you examine in depth existing problems. These objectives will only be possible if you openly and frankly discuss the issues laid down in agenda. These objectives will only be possible if you validate our people's democratic traditions, as well as the experience gained in the struggle for national independence and national building.

### Union 'Fundamentally Shifting' Relations

MB1311194290 Maputo in English to Southern Africa  
1800 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] The Organization of Mozambican Workers, OTM, said today at its second national conference in Maputo that it is fundamentally shifting its relationship to the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party.

Two top officials of the OTM made it clear that the organization was no longer accepted to act as a transmission (?valve) between Frelimo and the mass of trade union members. The new draft [word indistinct] and programs that the conference will be discussing during the week established the OTM's independence from state employers, religious organizations, and political parties. It does not mention the Frelimo Party directly. However, the OTM is not yet self-sufficient financially. The conference itself was [words indistinct] on a \$25,000 subsidy from Frelimo.

A report at the conference by OTM General Secretary Augusto Macamo says the strike wave across Mozambique earlier this year was not only due to a sharp increase in the cost of living but also due to the failure of the employers to obey labor legislation. The increased

cost of living, it noted, resulted from the country's IMF- and World Bank-supported economic recovery program.

The report says many companies had simply refused to pay centrally decreed wage increases and evaded (?bonuses) to which the workers were entitled.

OTM's deputy general secretary, Jose Correia Ganancio, said (?in his report) for the preparation of the congress that there was a clear feeling among trade unionists that the [words indistinct] conditions of a market economy, workers should not be [words indistinct].

### **Renamo Said To Cease Attacking Cahora Lines**

*MB1211151990 Johannesburg THE STAR  
in English 12 Nov 90 p 6*

[Report by Dawn Barkhuizen: "Cahora Bassa-SA Lines Safe - Renamo"]

[Text] Songo (Mozambique)—Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] president Afonso Dhlakama has given a firm undertaking to stop all attacks on the 900 km powerline between South Africa and the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric dam in north-western Mozambique.

But Mr. Dhlakama will not agree to stop hitting the powerline that feeds Maputo, according to Dries Loots, South Africa's representative to the Permanent Joint Committee (PJC), a group formed to get the project back on track.

The agreement is the first clear signal that the massive hydro-electric project, which has been virtually idle for 15 years, could be up and running as soon as 1993/4.

Continual sabotage of the line brought electrical supplies to South Africa to a total standstill in 1983.

Mr. Loots, secretary to the joint Mozambican, South African and Portuguese PJC, has been talking to Mr. Dhlakama since June this year.

The talks have been sanctioned by the three countries and other PJC members, including representatives from the SADF [South African Defense Force] and its Mozambican counterpart as well as Eskom [Electricity Supply Commission].

Mr. Dhlakama had conceded that Portugal and not the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] government was paying the highest price for the project's continued inactivity, Mr. Loots said. Most of the R[and]1.2 billion building and maintenance costs are owed to Portugal.

Mr. Loots added: "Mr. Dhlakama is also tired of the war—he wants out of the bush."

Unless the Cahora Bassa project is back on track within the next 18 months, it would reach the point of no

return, said Eskom chief executive Dr. Ian McRae. Tariffs would have to be raised so high that the project would no longer be viable.

The fragile peace between Renamo and Frelimo has given hope that further funding needed to rehabilitate the project will be secured soon.

The substation at Cahora Bassa has been well maintained and needs little work, but the lines need repair. More than 1,400 electrical pylons have been blown up, dismantled or fallen into disrepair during the 10-year bush war.

The cost of rehabilitation is R240 million, Dr. McRae said.

Already promised is a R50 million loan from South Africa for the manufacture of towers, hardware and conductors, and R30 million for field work from Italy.

More money is expected from Italy and the World Bank.

South Africa has a keen interest in seeing the restoration of the project—not only for the future but because it has invested heavily in the past.

Of the original R352 million cost, the South African Government gave a direct R25 million loan and indirectly lent R55 million to Portugal.

Dr. McRae said Eskom was urging the rehabilitation of Cahora Bassa at a time when it was mothballing three power stations inside South Africa because South Africa would need more power by the end of the decade and Cahora would be the cheapest source.

### **Official Predicts 3 Percent Economic Growth**

*MB1211183490 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 12 Nov 90*

[Excerpt] By the end of this year the Mozambican economy may show a growth of just three percent. This represents a decrease in relation to the five percent average achieved in 1987. Deputy Planning Minister Tomas Salomao said in Maputo today that this is due to the serious upheavals caused by the international situation and the war that continues to cause much distress in the country.

Deputy Planning Minister Tomas Salomao said this in the Mozambican capital today at a seminar on economic rehabilitation in light of the Republic's new constitution. The meeting is being attended by members of the Council of Ministers and representatives of various associations and mass democratic organizations.

Deputy Minister Tomas Salomao noted that the abrupt effects of the Persian Gulf crisis allow one to forecast that inflation will probably remain at 30 percent, as opposed to the initially projected figure of 18 percent. [passage omitted]



**\* Interior Minister Discusses Rising Crime Rate**

91AF0127A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
5 Oct 90 r 3

[Interview with Interior Minister Manuel Antonio by Taibo Mocobora; date and place not given; first paragraph is NOTICIAS introduction]

[Text] In recent times, the country has witnessed a growing wave of crime, particularly by armed assailants. Curiously, there are reports of the involvement or collusion of police agents in some of these criminal acts, which makes this already dangerous situation even more dramatic. Crimes occur more frequently in the nation's capital, where the thieves not only work by night, but even in broad daylight. Since there is already a tendency toward panic, primarily among urban residents, this newspaper requested a brief interview with the minister of the interior, to discuss this phenomenon and its causes. Manuel Antonio stressed that protecting the cities and controlling crime require the commitment not only of the police forces but of the public, as well. Following are salient portions of that interview.

[Mucobora] Minister, we have lately been witnessing a growing crime wave in the country. In your opinion, what are the primary causes and what are the police doing to turn this situation around?

[Antonio] Generally speaking, there was a slight rise in crime in the country in the first half of this year, by more than 36 cases over the same period last year. In Maputo City in particular, however, there was a decline of about three percent. We are aware that there are crimes committed in Maputo City that have a certain psychological impact: isolated cases of crimes committed in daylight, but not involving significant sums. It is true that there is criminality in the country, particularly in the cities. There is a very specific explanation for it, and all the Mozambican people, from Rovuma to Maputo, must be aware of it. Our society is confronted with several difficult problems: illiteracy, poverty, and the armed bandits. The war causes people to flock to the towns and cities in search of shelter; the cities are full of people without jobs; the factories and companies are not producing at capacity; the people are not producing enough food for their own sustenance and the state must feed the people with the limited resources at its disposal.

As to what is being done to turn the crime situation around, we have to say that, in 1986, the office of the Ministry of the Interior launched an intensive reorganization, consisting in various actions: we began to purge the ranks of the Defense and Security forces, which is an ongoing task that takes time and involves many actions, some linked to the police and others to the society in general. We assigned [badge] numbers to the members of the PPM [Mozambique People's Police], so they may be identified by any citizen. A decree should be approved very soon regarding the establishment of private security companies, for increased protection of various objectives of operational interest, such as economic units and

others. We have intensified training for sector chiefs who will be working in residential neighborhoods, so they will be in direct contact with the local party structures. We are maintaining the effort to increase personnel, so as to strengthen our capability and ensure the renewal of the ranks of the PPM. This work depends basically on the financial capacity of the government, and not simply on the will or the efforts of the Ministry of the Interior. We have designed a refresher program to raise the technical-professional level of the PPM members who are still having difficulty performing their duties. We are resuming continuing contact with the party committees in each city, so the work of mobilizing the public will be commensurate with the needs for protection, in the context of the people-police connection. The police stations, particularly those in Maputo City, are being reinforced with men—and some with materiel—to ensure bigger and better response capability.

[Mucobora] Reports which have reached us and which appear to be public knowledge point to the connivance and/or involvement of police agents in some of the crimes that are being committed in the country. Mr. Minister, what do you think about these rumors?

[Antonio] On that regard, I can neither confirm or deny it. The police live in a real world, in a society which has its problems. These problems can directly or indirectly influence the behavior of some members of the police. This is precisely why the process of purging the ranks is continuing and irreversible. This year in Maputo City alone, 39 members have been dismissed and there will certainly be more by the end of the year, because these reports of misconduct have even reached us. It should be said, however, that there are individuals in the police who find they cannot take the police discipline, so they desert and consort with criminals and commit crimes. [They appear to be] policemen, but actually they are police deserters. The public should assume the responsibility of reporting these infiltrators, so they can be neutralized. There certainly has been no directive abolishing the practice of receiving complaints and suggestions at the police stations and even at the level of the ministry. Any citizen who is the victim of any irregularity may present his complaint, along with the evidence, in any jurisdiction.

[Mucobora] Regarding the reporting of infiltrators and crimes to which you referred, I have the following question: As a general rule, the citizens complain that the thieves who are caught and turned over to the police stations are, incomprehensibly, released without ever going to trial. As a result of this situation, even though the people know about some assailant, they do not report him for fear of reprisals. How is it that this continues to happen?

[Antonio] I would like the people, the public, to know how our government organs function. The principal duties of the police, in the context of combating crime, are prevention and repression. In repression, the police examine the cases that are presented to them, and, if

there is sufficient evidence for criminal prosecution, the cases and the respective files are forwarded to the court. However, if there is not sufficient evidence, the case is either closed or is held pending further evidence and the accused is released. If it is not done this way, it means that the police themselves are committing an irregularity—what we would call an illegal act. The police cannot commit illegal acts. Anything else constitutes an infraction and has always called for strong sanctions. We would emphasize something that some people still are not aware of. In the Maputo police station, there are DIC [Criminal Investigation Division] agents, brigade chiefs and inspectors who have the power to bring indictments and forward them. Some of these indictments go to the district courts and others, more serious cases, go to the city government.

[Mucobora] The fear of reporting thieves is also connected with the fact that, in most cases, the assailants are armed. What can you tell us about the origin of the firearms used by the thieves?

[Antonio] I would like the public to understand and comprehend that these criminals did not obtain all these weapons inside the country. Since the enemy does everything possible to foment terror among our people, he may introduce weapons into our country, particularly in the cities. We have had great difficulty neutralizing those who are bringing weapons into Mozambique, but we are already [seizing] most of the firearms that are brought into the country from abroad. This is not any easy task; it takes time and it also requires the cooperation of all our citizens.

[Mucobora] What are the noteworthy results of the experiment in police-community relations?

[Antonio] The local party structures function less aggressively in some provinces, particularly in Maputo. The party should be more dynamic at the neighborhood level, to meet the demands of the present phase. The neighborhood commissions are not functioning well and we have said insistently that it is hard to combat crime without the participation of all the people. Sometimes we hear cases reported on the Radio Mozambique program "Morning Wave," crimes that would not have happened if individuals had acted together for their own protection. How is it explained that thieves can drive up in a truck and take all the belongings from a house where the neighbors know that the owners are away, and no one is concerned? If each individual only looks out for himself, crime will touch everyone. I do not mean that nothing is working, but I want to stress that, in combating crime and at this time, the local party organs must make some effort to organize the people. In 1987/1988, I personally conducted several neighborhood meetings in the nation's capital, to urge the residents to reorganize the neighborhoods and neutralize some elements of the Defense and Security forces who committed certain irregularities. From what I can see, that series of meetings was unsuccessful, because I hear reports in the media about many

thefts and there is also talk about misconduct by members of the police. To a certain point, it is true. But I ask myself: What is being done to combat this situation? The police are from the people; they are the sons of the people, they came from the people; they are in the service of the people; and they should learn from the people, according to the teachings of our party. If the people were organized to maintain vigilance, there would be fewer crimes. Today the reverse is true and we are witnessing all these problems.

[Mucobora] Mr. Minister, you insist that the people must cooperate in combating crime, reporting thefts or infiltrators, but it happens that the police are often slow to respond to emergency calls from citizens.

[Antonio] This does, happen, in fact. Agility and speed are vital. The reason for this is that, in many cases, when the citizen phones the nearest police station, the latter has no means of transport available, so it communicates the information to the operations room of the PPM Command of Maputo City, and this process takes time. The thief naturally has time to get away. There is already a plan to combat this situation. We are going to concentrate the limited means that the state has allocated to the Interior Ministry in the areas where the crime rate is highest, so as to permit rapid response. This action will be taken immediately.

[Mucobora] Since the meetings in 1987/1988 had no effect, are there other ways to explain to the people how they can participate effectively in combating crime?

[Antonio] We are conducting a study at the level of the police forces themselves, with the aim of altering our strategy so that we can respond to the present situation, because the enemy changes his tactics with every passing day. I would like to say to the people that here in the Ministry of the Interior we are prepared to receive any member of the public who has a problem to relate, particularly when this problem concerns misconduct by members of the police forces. So anyone may tell his problems to the ministry or in any police station. The people should know that the protection of the cities is in their hands and that combating crime depends on the active engagement of all the people, not just the police.

## Namibia

### \* Gulf Crisis Forces Gas, Diesel Prices Up

91AF0176A Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA  
in English 4 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] Petrol prices in Namibia have increased by 10 percent a litre from today, while those of diesel and paraffin went up by 7 and 15 percent respectively in reaction to increased world oil prices following the Gulf crisis, mines and energy minister, Andimba Toivo Ya Toivo, announced yesterday.

Mr Toivo Ya Toivo said the increases amounted to 8.6 and 6.3 percent on petrol and diesel respectively, which

is considerably lower than the approximate 25 percent increase on both products necessary to offset the current cost of refined petroleum products of the world market.

He said the under-recovery on the pump price would be carried by the Equalisation Fund for the time being.

According to the new price structure of petrol, landed cost will make up 39 percent, industry margin 4 percent, dealers margin 6 percent, service differential 2 percent, equalisation fund 5 percent, fuel tax 22 percent. MMF [expansion unknown] 2 percent, customs and excise 3 percent, transport 5 percent and under recovery 13 percent.

Namibian and South African motorists escaped with increases of around 9 percent at the petrol pump, but other countries like Ghana and Mozambique increased prices by up to 50 and 65 percent respectively.

Experts said a further increase in fuel prices was in the pipeline unless crude oil prices stabilised around 22 U.S. dollars per barrel.

#### \* Cheap Water from Angola for Northern Region

91AF0176B Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
4 Sep 90 p 11

[Article by Dale Lautenbach: "Namibians Cheer News of Water Scheme"]

[Text] Windhoek—Water from the Calueque Dam on the Cunene River in southern Angola will soon be pumping into northern Namibia—at 1/20 of the price of the present supply.

Loud cheers greeted President Sam Nujoma's announcement that the water scheme would be back on stream by the middle of the month.

Although the occasion was to celebrate Swapo's [South-West African People's Organization] launching of the armed struggle in 1966, it was the water news that seemed most to fill the hearts of the people of the arid region.

Construction of the Calueque Dam began in 1973 by agreement between the South African administration in Namibia and the Portuguese authorities in Angola.

But the work was interrupted by the fighting that broke out in Angola after independence in 1975.

While the construction of the dam remains incomplete, the pumping station designed to tap water to Owambo was already working when war almost closed it.

From 1977, some Calueque water reached Owambo, but it was an unreliable source and Namibian water authorities organised an emergency supply scheme to pump water from the Cunene at Ruacana.

Calueque was further undermined in June 1988 when the Angolan government's Fapla [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] forces bombed the installation.

A spokesman for the Namibian Department of Fisheries and Water said that as early as January, before independence Mr Nujoma, the then president-to-be, had identified the need to get Calueque water flowing into Owambo if development in this area was to be supported.

Of Namibia's 1,500,00 people, 400,000 live in Owambo and its water needs far outstrip the capacity of the present pumping station at Ruacana.

Furthermore, the pumping exercise there is 20 times more expensive to pump because the water has to be raised 360 m compared with only 15 m at Calueque.

By May, Namibian engineers went into Angola with the permission of the country's authorities to begin fixing the pump station and doing maintenance work that had not been done since 1975.

The pumps will be tested early this month, according to the water affairs spokesman, and thereafter Owambo will reap the benefit.

But Calueque water is by no means the sole answer to all Owambo's development needs.

While there are two major water purification plants in the area at Ogonjo and Olushandja, and while existing pipelines link the bigger towns, Owambo is predominately a rural area and an extensive water pipeline network is envisaged in projects over the next 10 to 15 years.

It is hoped that money pledged to Namibia by the international community at the June donor conference in New York will be assigned soon to some of these water programmes—with the donors' consent.

Already some assistance from the European Community is backing the intensification of the search for ground water in the more remote eastern and south-western areas of Owambo.

The Cuvelai drainage system, originating in the southern highlands of Angola and terminating in the Etosha Pan, floods the small rivers and oshonas (small pans) during the wet season in Owambo. This explains why the region first attracted the Owambo cattle farmers and mahango growers.

But as the region developed and the population grew, the erratic annual rainfall and natural oshona system could no longer support the water needs.

The Cunene River, which also provides Namibia with hydro-electric power from the Ruacana station, and which has the potential for further power development at Epupa Falls further along the river to the coast, offered the only viable long-term solution.

The reopening of the Calueque installation, providing 6 cu m of water a second, is but a part of the use of this rich natural resource.

The importance of this was officially recognised as far back as 1926 in the terms of a border agreement between the then Union of South Africa and the Portuguese.



**\* Taiwan To Explore for Oil in Ovambo***91AF0176C Windhoek TIMES in English 6 Aug 90 p 1*

[Text] The Taiwanese Overseas Petroleum and Investment Corporation [OPIC] will shortly begin preliminary oil exploration work in Ovambo, according to an NBC radio news report monitored by Sapa [South African Press Association].

OPIC General Manager David Chen said all the necessary equipment, shipped from France, had arrived at OPIC's Okankolo site in Ovambo on Wednesday. He said positioning points for testing had already been identified.

The exploration area extends 60 km east and west of Okankolo, and 50 km north and south of the site. Less than 30 km extends into the Etosha National Park.

Mr Chen said extensive precautions had been undertaken to ensure environmental protection during exploration.

He said no dynamite would be used and bulldozing would only be done if necessary.

**Zambia****Police, Activists Fight 'Running Battles'***MB1311134190 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1300 GMT 13 Nov 90*

[Text] Zambian police have fired on pro-democracy demonstrators. Over a thousand supporters of the pro-democracy activists who were going on trial fought running battles with police in the farming town of Choma, southwest of the capital, Lusaka. Riot police fired teargas and live ammunition at the protesters. No reports of injuries have been received, and at least 12 people have been arrested.

**'Serious Disturbances' in Choma***MB1311155390 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 13 Nov 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In Zambia, there have been serious disturbances outside [word indistinct] in the Southern town of Choma, where several officials of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, MMD, are facing charges for belonging to an unlawful organization. They include a prominent member of the MMD, trade union leader Frederick Chiluba. They were arrested last month while having an informal meeting. Today's trouble began when a crowd gathered hoping to watch the trial take place.

Police moved in to disperse them, and a disturbance ensued. The judge then adjourned the hearing until tomorrow and things seemed to calm down. But now rioting has broken out again.

A few minutes ago, on the line to Choma Ruth Filby asked Mike Hall what exactly was happening:

[Begin recording] [Hall] Well, when the court adjourned this afternoon the crowds that had been at the proceedings had marched away peacefully, shouting multiparty slogans, and about half an hour later I heard gunshots in the town center and automatic gunfire, and when I went out to see what was happening there was teargas sweeping through the whole of the central part of Choma, people running in all directions, so there is obviously quite a lot of chaos going on at the moment, and I was told that some people had been throwing stones at the police and that there had also been a bit of looting.

[Filby] Did you see anybody injured?

[Hall] I personally have not seen anyone injured at the moment. All I have seen is hundreds of people running in all directions.

[Filby] This seems to have followed on from this morning's disturbances.

[Hall] Yes, [words indistinct] that a lot of people are very annoyed with the way the police have been dealing with controlling the crowd outside the courtrooms.

[Filby] Does this mean that this court case is likely to be called off after all this trouble?

[Hall] Well, it is not clear at this stage. The judge this afternoon adjourned the case until 0900 [0700 GMT] tomorrow morning, but he did make a warning when he opened the afternoon session that people should be peaceful and they should not try to disrupt the court proceedings, and he warned people that they should come and listen quietly. Whether they will suspend the case is not clear, but obviously, it does give the ruling party some ammunition, and a lot of people have been saying that the authorities have been trying to provoke this sort of thing so that the ruling party can justify its claims that, you know, multiparty system brings violence and chaos. So, a lot of people, even independent observers, feel that this is a deliberate provocation and that it gives fuel to the ruling party. [end recording]

**\* Chitimukulu: Political Reform 'Should' Evolve***91AF0160A Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English  
12 Sep 90 p 7*

[Text] Northern Province Member of the Central Committee Paramount Chief Chitimukulu has said political change towards multi-party rule in Zambia should be allowed to evolve rather than be imposed on the people.

"We do not refuse multi-partyism, it will certainly come. But we are saying that the majority of Zambians are not yet ready for such a change," he said.

The chief was opening the annual Northern Province council of chiefs meeting yesterday at Musa farm training institute in Kasama.

Many people died, others were maimed, houses of people holding different political views were gutted and many people were threatened, he said, citing figures of the unfortunate events.

"With this in mind, it is not fair that anyone should start imposing changes on the people for which they are not ready. The result will be violence. People advocating such change should think twice because it was multi-partyism that caused violence."

Most of the multi-party advocates were people who had been thrown out of the system and they had now realized the only way to get into the leadership was through a multiplicity of parties.

At the same meeting senior Chief Nkula of Chinsali urged the Party and its Government to allow chiefs to campaign for the retention of one-party participatory rule.

Masaiti: Copperbelt Member of the Central Committee Comrade Rankin Sikasula hailed traditional rulers in Ndola Rural for supporting the Party and its Government's stand on the retention of the one-party system.

Cde Sikasula lambasted some church organizations for taking sides on the current political debate instead of remaining neutral and giving to Caesar what belonged to Caesar.

Earlier in Luanshya Cde Sikasula cautioned workers at the Copperbelt Cooperative Union (CCU) against swindling the union because the success of the union depended on workers' integrity, discipline and hard work.

Solwezi: North-Western Province Member of the Central Committee, Comrade Alexander Kamalondo warned Party leaders against being taken for a ride by multi-party advocates.

Chingola: Chingola district governor Comrade Titus Mukupa called on miners not to be swayed into the multi-party movement because their interests could best be served by one-party rule.

Mwense: District political secretary Comrade Dereck Chongo appealed to Party leaders to mobilize the people in readiness for the forthcoming registration of voters exercise next month.—Zana.

#### \* Maize Sale Liberalized To Reduce Cost

91AF0160A Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
14 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] The Government has liberalized maize sales to cut down on middlemen and handling costs in a bid to reduce the cost of mealie meal to consumers, Finance and Planning Minister Comrade Gibson Chigaga announced in Lusaka yesterday.

Restrictions on commercial importation of fertilizer have also been lifted, thus enabling importers to use the

"no funds" import licence and 50 percent retention scheme to bring in the commodity for own use or sale on the domestic market.

Farmers, primary societies and cooperative unions may sell maize directly to millers, retailers and the public at current prices but not more than the official into-mill prices.

The aims of the measures were to reduce on handling costs by middlemen and therefore lower the into-mill cost of the maize.

"Overheads of marketing agents will be avoided as millers would buy directly from the farmers," he said. The move is also aimed at reducing the cost of mealie meal to the consumer who will now have the option of buying maize and taking it to a hammermill for grinding into mealie meal.

"Investigations have shown it is far cheaper to obtain mealie meal by taking maize for grinding using a hammermill."

The Government has introduced two sets of mealie meal prices.

The first set would be lower prices applying to mealie meal to be sold by weighing and allowing the customer to carry it in his own container.

"The cost of factory packaging material will not be reflected on the mealie meal to the consumer. The second set of prices will apply to mealie meal in packages as is currently done."

The cost of packaging material for a 25kg roller or breakfast meal bag was K13.80 [kwacha] which would not be paid by a customer who bought mealie meal and carried it in his own container.

Cde Chigaga, speaking also in his capacity as chairman of the economic monitoring committee, said at a Press briefing attended by senior ministry officials, that "this means the Zambia Cooperative Federation will now compete with other millers and will not be the sole buyer of maize."

"Main millers such as Mulungushi Investments and Indeco [Industrial Development Corporation] Milling companies are expected to play a major role in passing on the benefits of buying maize directly from farmers to the consumers," he said.

Statutory prices of mealie meal would now be the maximum "as we expect cost reductions through the direct purchases of maize by millers from the farmers. Traders are free to sell mealie meal at lower prices."

Hammermills, which were being distributed in rural, urban, and peri-urban areas, would at the end of this month total 500. The Small Industries Development Organization (SIDO) had 306 mills and the Village Industry Service (VIS) would also bring in 100 by the end of this month.

"The hammermills in the programme will assist urban consumers gain access to mealie meal at lower prices."

Donors have pledged \$2 million to support the hammermills programme.

Asked on the coupon system, he said it would continue and its value would not be reduced until prices stabilized as "we believe prices will stabilize and that is the point at which we will think of reducing the value of the coupon."

A farmer producing and marketing over 10,000 x 90kg bags of white maize may export the excess directly or through an agent and earn the 50 percent foreign exchange retention.

#### \* Committee To Assist Privatization Formed

91AF0160C Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
14 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] The Government has set up a committee to study and recommend measures to facilitate implementation of privatization of parastatals, it was learnt in Lusaka yesterday.

A *TIMES* source said the committee had already started its work and that members were geared to present their report to the Government soon.

He did not reveal the names of the team which consisted of high-ranking personalities from Government, Zimco [Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation] and the private sector.

The formation of the committee came three months after President Kaunda's announcement in May that the State would sell nearly half of its shares in public enterprises to the public under a "parastatal reform programme."

Addressing the fifth extraordinary UNIP [United National Independence Party] National Council in Lusaka, Dr Kaunda directed Prime Minister General Malimba Masheke to form a "team of competent persons" from the Party, Government, Zimco and the private sector to plan the implementation of the reforms.

The President's announcement marked a major Government economic policy shift. Zambia's era of "State capitalism" began in 1968 when the Government ushered in reforms under which it bought 51 percent share capital in major business enterprises.

The new economic reforms initially sell up to 40 and 49 percent shares in public enterprises in the first and second categories, respectively.

Parastatals in the first category include those classified as "public utilities and social service enterprises," these include Zambia Railways, Zesco [Zambia Electrical Supply Corporation], University Teaching Hospital Board, Medical and Education Trust—a ZCCM [Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines] subsidiary. Lusaka Water and Sewerage Company and the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation.

The second category comprise the "mining, industrial and commercial enterprises" mainly companies under the Zimco conglomerate and other firms in which the State has controlling shares.

#### \* 'No Commitment' on Iraq's Oil Offer

91AF0161A Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
14 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] Iraq has officially communicated its offer of free oil to Zambia, an Iraqi embassy spokesman revealed yesterday.

An official letter outlining details of the offer has been forwarded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The spokesman said should Zambia be interested in the offer, foreign affairs will forward details to relevant Government organs for a follow-up.

Similar letters, he said, were being sent to other Third World countries following last Monday's announcement by Iraqi president Saddam Husayn that his country was ready to provide free oil to the needy Third World.

Asked whether countries could ask for any quantity of oil, the spokesman said Iraq would assess the requests to ensure they were "reasonable".

President Hussein said when announcing the offer countries wishing to have the free oil should make their own transport arrangements.

On Tuesday, Power, Transport and Communications Minister General Enos Haimbe said Zambia could not fully commit herself to the free oil offer until officially informed and after a thorough analysis of the Gulf crisis.—Zana.

#### \* Iranians Give Medical Aid, Promise Oil Help

91AF0161B Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
12 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] President Kaunda has commended Iran for donating one million tablets of chloroquine to help Zambia combat malaria, one of the killer diseases.

He also praised Iran for showing concern to the health of Zambians saying this kind of attitude towards mankind demonstrated Iran was a truly revolutionary friend.

The President was speaking at State House yesterday before he hosted a working breakfast in honor of the visiting Iranian parliamentary delegation led by Mr Ramsan Rohaninia.

Mr Rohaninia told the President that in addition to the chloroquine tablets, his country would soon provide 300 spray pumps to help in the fight against malaria.



The President recalled that Iran had not only provided the drugs for the killer disease but made available a number of doctors who had carried out research work to control malaria.

The recommendations from the Iranian doctors would assist Zambia to eradicate malaria in the same way smallpox had been wiped out years back.

Cde Kaunda also saluted the Iranian government for pledging to help Zambia with oil in view of the current Gulf crisis.

The oil offer would help to solve some economic problems facing Zambia considering that petrol prices had already gone up.

Cde Kaunda said the oil offer was most welcome and promised that he would discuss the issue with his compatriots to see how they could utilize the commodity.

Mr Rohaninia told the President whatever sufferings hit Zambians also affected Iranians.

Mr Rohaninia, who was accompanied to State House by the Iranian ambassador to Zambia Mr Mohsen Pakaein, pledged that his country would continue to assist Zambia in all areas of development to strengthen the bilateral relations between the two countries.—Zana.

#### \* Solutions to Economic Problems Promised

91AF0161C Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English  
13 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] Government has worked out some economic measures to defuse mounting tension by the people because of hunger which has forced most of them to blindly follow multi-party advocates at their mammoth rallies, President Kaunda said yesterday.

Cde Kaunda said at State House yesterday in a Press interview the protest rallies caused by the high cost of living would disappear after his keynote address to the UNIP [United National Independence Party] National Council on September 24.

The President would also put forward his proposals on the speedy democratization of UNIP.

In an interview with Finnish broadcaster Mr Reijo Lindroos, Cde Kaunda said the austerity measures had hit the poorest people in society harder and steps were being taken to review the situation.

"We have accepted the message of the poor and it is our task to put that right and the mammoth rallies will disappear," the President said.

The Party and its Government had realized its mistakes which would be discussed freely at the council with a view to finding lasting solutions to economic and political problems that have beset the nation.

The President who boasted of leading a "self-confident" political Party, said the freedom of speech and expression prevailing in Zambia was one of the remarkable achievements UNIP was proud of.

He cautioned the nation against rallying behind multi-party campaigners who, he said, were "violent in word and deed" for they would bring anarchy.

Zambians, especially coup plotters, should learn a lesson from what happened to the late Liberian president Samuel Doe who was killed by his rival Prince Johnson this week because those who took power by force usually met violent deaths.

On the ongoing campaigns on whether or not to reintroduce multi-party democracy, Cde Kaunda said UNIP would not hold counter-rallies as this would cause chaos.

All the multi-party leaders had one thing in common and that was hatred for UNIP.

The President noted that lack of accountability was one of the factors that had adversely affected the economy.

Most of Zambia's skilled manpower lacked experience and therefore it was necessary to bring in some expatriates in some fields.

**Ghana****Sawyer on Returning to Monrovia, Current Tour**

AB1311141290 London BBC World Service in English  
1830 GMT 12 Nov 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] For some weeks now, Liberians have been expecting to see the new ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States]- sponsored interim government arrive in the country to take up office under the protection of the West African force, ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group], and the rebel leader, Prince Johnson, and, indeed, over the weekend, the interim vice president, Ronald Diggs, and eight senior officials did land in two Nigerian military helicopters. But the man they are all waiting for is the interim president himself, Amos Sawyer. He is currently in Accra where Adjoa Yeboa-Afari caught up with him. She sent us this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Dr. Sawyer refused to be drawn into giving a direct answer to the million-dollar question of precisely when he would be in Monrovia. All he would say was: Very soon. One of his aides told me that, all being well, he would be home by the end of the week. They would be leaving for Lagos later today, and from there they would go to Freetown, and then on to Monrovia. The aide explained that they had earlier visited Conakry and Banjul to thank the heads of state and people of those countries for their help, and to take leave of them formally before Dr. Sawyer takes up his post in Liberia.

Reacting to claims that Dr. Sawyer seemed to be reluctant to go to Monrovia, Dr. Sawyer described the use of the word reluctant as an unfortunate characterization. We are moving in systematically, he said. I am not out here on a fishing trip, you know. He said: The round of visits was all part of activities connected with setting up a successful interim government. There was no reluctance, he said.

When I asked him to explain a statement attributed to him in today's Ghanaian dailies that he was in no hurry to go to Monrovia to be sworn in, he said the point he had been trying to make was simply that his swearing in was more a symbolic act than a substantive consideration. The interim government, he said, has serious business to do, such as seeking peace, engaging in relief efforts, and sending in engineers to restore telecommunications and the utility services. He stressed that the interim government was moving into Liberia by progressive stages, and that its impact had already begun to be felt. [end recording]

**Cited on Plans**

AB1311163390 Accra Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Excerpt] With members of the Liberian interim government gradually moving into Monrovia, things seem to be returning to normal in the battered country and in the conflict in Rwanda, the government says it is in full control of the situation. But on the ground in both countries, there is more than meets the eye. From our radio newsroom, Garba Bawa takes a look at the situation in Liberia and Rwanda as of now.

[Bawa] The head of Liberia's interim government, Dr. Amos Sawyer, is currently on a diplomatic shuttle in West Africa. Meanwhile, his deputy, Mr. Ronald Diggs, has moved into Monrovia with eight top officials to start work in setting up an administrative machinery. They will also prepare the ground for the swearing-in of Dr. Amos Sawyer and the installation of the government.

But Dr. Sawyer himself has said that he is not in a hurry to go to Monrovia to be sworn in. He said the government is moving into Monrovia by stages and that each level in that process represents greater government presence. He said he personally does not constitute the totality of government. Dr. Sawyer said the interim government was consulting a cross-section of Liberians on how to distribute government portfolios. Contacts were also on the way on repatriation, resettlement, and national reconstruction. These things, however, are not possible without the full cooperation of the armed combatants. The remnants of Doe's forces have agreed to the leadership of the interim government and Johnson has also given a nod of going along. But Charles Taylor, who has declared himself president, has refused and says, no deal. He has vowed to prevent the interim government from taking office. He can do this only by force of arms, breaking through ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] and Johnson's ranks. He regards all other armed presence in Liberia, apart from his faction, as mercenaries and bandits.

Johnson, who also sees himself as president, will not let Taylor have his way. Dr. Sawyer has urged Charles Taylor to lay down his arms if he is the (?star) patriot he claims to be and spare Liberia the current ordeal. With Taylor controlling the countryside, the interim government will find it difficult to extend its jurisdiction beyond the environs of Monrovia. [passage omitted]

**Liberia****Interim Vice President Diggs Calls for Unity**

AB1411111090 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
2100 GMT 13 90

[Text] The vice president of the interim Government of Liberia, Bishop Ronald Diggs, has called on the people of his country to join hands with the government and the

ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] peace-keeping force to rebuild the war-torn country in the interest of peaceful coexistence. Speaking on arrival in Monrovia to assume duties, Bishop Diggs stressed the need for all factions in the Liberian conflict to eschew acts capable of further dividing the country. From the Liberian capital, Momoh Kubanje filed in this report.

[Begin studio announcer recording] Bishop Diggs commended the efforts of peacekeeping force in Liberia and said that the initiative of the ECOWAS member states in the subregion was necessary to bring about peace and stability in the region. The interim vice president was received on arrival at the ECOMOG headquarters by the field commander of ECOMOG, Major General Joshua Dogonyaro and some other senior military officers. Also there were the Nigerian ambassador to Liberia, Mr. Abraham Tukur, the leader of one of the Liberian rebel groups, Prince Johnson and thousands of Liberians.

The interim vice president was later driven in a convoy with heavy security to the headquarters of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia at Caldwell, the stronghold of Prince Johnson. Amidst cheers, Bishop Diggs said it was a feeling of joy for him to return to his country and expressed concern about the mass destruction of property and loss of lives as a result of the civil war. He stated that his first major task would be to reconcile all the ethnic groups in Liberia and to work towards a sustained peace and harmony.

Bishop Diggs extended his gratitude to Prince Johnson whom he said had taken care of his family since the war began. Earlier, Prince Johnson had traced the events which led to the civil war and his involvement in the crisis, and said he was only fighting for the liberation of the people of Liberia. Prince Johnson criticized the rebel leader, Charles Taylor, whom he said was selfish and self-centered. [end recording]

#### Installation Postponed for 'Security Reasons'

AB1311211090 Dakar PANA in French  
0918 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Lagos, 13 Nov (PANA)—The installation of the Liberian interim government, led by Amos Sawyer, has been postponed, the Nigerian Government oriented newspaper, the DAILY TIMES, announced today in Lagos, quoting its correspondent in Freetown.

According to the daily, the postponement has been confirmed by the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] special representative in Freetown, Ambassador Joshua Iroha of Nigeria, who, however, gave no reason for the postponement.

Mr. Sawyer and his delegation, notably his ministers, reportedly left the Port of Freetown for Monrovia on board a Nigerian Army helicopter. The operation was

canceled at the last minute for security reasons, according to the daily which stressed that a new date will be announced later.

#### Nigerian Envoy in Monrovia Appeals for Peace

AB1311180890 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
1500 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Excerpt] The Nigerian ambassador to Liberia, Alhaji Tukur, has appealed to the people of that country to bury their hatchet and give peace a chance. This, he said, would facilitate the process of reconciliation, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. Dr. Tukur's appeal is contained in the latest official report on the Liberian crisis made public in Lagos. According to the report ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] remained in full control of Monrovia and has created a buffer zone outside the capital to protect the city from attack by Charles Taylor's rebels.

It added that foreign mercenaries had been sighted fighting alongside Charles Taylor's faction. There are strong indications that Liberians are eager to receive the interim government. [passage omitted]

#### AFL's Nimley Said Abroad for Medical Treatment

AB1311171590 Dakar PANA in English  
1054 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Lagos, 13 Nov (NAN/PANA)—The proposed visit of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] standing mediation committee to Libya will now take place on Sunday [18 November], the secretariat of the sub-regional economic grouping said in a statement issued in Lagos Monday. [passage omitted]

On the commander of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), Brig. David Nimley, who reportedly left Monrovia for an unknown destination with members of his family, the ECOWAS statement said Brig. Nimley had left Liberia for medical treatment abroad. The ECOWAS said that in his absence, Lt. Gen. Bowen had taken over the command of AFL.

#### Niger

#### Saibou Visits Troops Going to Saudi Arabia

AB1311203690 Niamey Domestic Service in French  
1200 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Days as received]

[Text] The president of the Republic, General Ali Saibou, this morning visited the Tondibia military training base. There he acquainted himself with the progress being made in the preparations by the Niger contingent that will be leaving for Saudi Arabia.

All is set for the departure on Thursday of the contingent for Saudi Arabia. The head of state's fiash visit to the



base this morning enabled him to say words of encouragement to this 481-strong intervention battalion made up of elements of the Niger Armed Forces and paramilitary forces. The troops will be assigned to close-in defense and range duties.

After the contingent was presented to the president by its commander Colonel Ahmadou Seyni, General Ali Saibou explained at length to our officers and soldiers why our country has decided to send this contingent to Saudi Arabia, a country with which we maintain good relations. Better still it is the holy land which constitutes a patrimony for the entire Islamic world. The president of the Republic then reminded them that they are the representatives of the Niger nation and stressed that their mission is an important one and in order to accomplish it, they need to exercise discipline, unity, and devotion within their ranks.

## Nigeria

### ECOWAS To Meet Libyan Leader on Liberia

AB1311131290 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
0600 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] A five-man ministerial contact group on the Liberian conflict is to visit Tripoli next week for talks with the Libyan leader, Colonel Mu'ammur al-Qadhafi, on how to find a lasting solution to the crisis. This followed reports on the presence of Libyan troops with the Charles Taylor rebel group in Liberia. The ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] secretariat said in Lagos that the contact group would be led by the executive secretary of the organization, Dr. Abass Bundu. Alex Udoh has the details.

[Begin Udoh recording] The contact group comprises Nigeria, The Gambia, Mali, Ghana and Togo. The talks are expected to precede an extraordinary meeting of ECOWAS heads of state and government scheduled for Bamako, Mali on the 27th of this month. The ECOWAS secretariat also stated that there will be a meeting of the standing mediation committee in the Malian capital, aimed at bringing about peaceful negotiated settlement and an end to the armed conflict in Liberia. The diplomatic mission to Libya is to have meaningful discussions with the Libyan leader, Mu'ammur al-Qadhafi, on the need to resolve the conflict in Liberia without further bloodshed.

On the situation in Liberia itself, the ECOWAS secretariat said an advance party of the interim government was in Monrovia to break grounds for the arrival of the interim president, Dr. Amos Sawyer. A number of international relief agencies have resumed relief operations to Monrovia involving the supply of food and medicine. The secretariat appealed to other international relief agencies and donor countries to intensify their efforts to rehabilitate Liberian refugees. At the moment, France, Belgium, and the United States, as well as other Western

nations are playing greater part in the provision of relief materials to the Liberian war victims.

The ECOWAS secretariat explained that peace was returning to Liberia and that the Free Port of Monrovia was now safe and capable of receiving any quantity of relief supplies. It again appealed to the Charles Taylor rebel groups to stop fighting and accept the necessity for negotiated settlement of the crisis in the interest of the vast majority of Liberians. [end recording]

### Sawyer Briefs Vice President on Situation

AB1311172090 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
1500 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] The leader of the interim government in Liberia, Dr. Amos Sawyer, today at Dodan Barracks briefed the vice president, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, on the latest situation in Monrovia. After the briefing, he told correspondents that the climate in Monrovia is ripe for the swearing-in of an interim government. He expressed gratitude to ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, Cease-Fire Monitoring Group]. Dr. Sawyer observed that if not for the diplomatic initiative taken by Nigeria and other members of ECOWAS, the situation in Liberia would have been worse.

### Commends ECOMOG

AB1311172690 Dakar PANA in English  
1556 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Lagos, 13 Nov. (NAN/PANA)—The president of Liberia's interim government, Amos Sawyer, has expressed disappointment at African nations which have so far failed to understand the Liberian war and the role ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] is playing to solve it. I think it's unfortunate there are Africans who do not sufficiently understand the Liberian crisis to appreciate ECOMOG's work, Sawyer said in an interview with State House correspondents in Lagos.

Answering questions after briefing Vice-President Augustus Aikhomu on the latest peace moves to settle the problem, Sawyer said that the Liberian war posed a danger to the ECOWAS sub-region because of its [word indistinct] adverse effect on the free movement of persons. He said that every country in the sub-region should be involved in looking for a solution to the problem and to ensure adequate security at all times.

We should not allow ourselves to be prisoners of a concept of sovereignty that is too legalistic as to deny us the right to save human lives, he said.

He commended the ECOMOG forces for enforcing some measure of peace in the war-torn country, noting that before their arrival, Liberians had engaged in wanton killings of themselves in a situation of military stalemate and no authority. Thousands of Liberians have been killed, one-third displaced internally and another

twenty-five per cent displaced externally, he said. He said that without the presence of ECOMOG forces, more Liberians would have died.

Sawyer commended the Nigerian Government for its contribution to peace efforts to resolve the Liberian war, and urged Nigerians to support the Federal Government. Liberians, he said, were very grateful to Nigeria for all it had done so far to help solve their problem.

Asked when he would assume office in Monrovia, he said, we are on our way in. We are only on a last round of consultation, but the framework for a civil administration is already there. Sawyer is scheduled to meet on Wednesday with President Ibrahim Babangida.

### **Offers Taylor Half of Seats**

AB1411154090 Paris AFP in English 1524 GMT  
14 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Lagos, Nov 14 (AFP)—Liberia's interim president Amos Sawyer on Wednesday offered rebel leader Charles Taylor a fresh chance to lead a future parliament in Monrovia, where he would have half the seats. "Charles Taylor has an opportunity to transform his military organization into a political organization," Mr. Sawyer, a lawyer and constitutional expert, said after meeting here with Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida.

The offer, which would include "the equivalent of 50 per cent of seats in the assembly" for Mr. Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), was part of the interim government's National Unity Programme, Mr. Sawyer said. He was in Lagos as part of a tour of four of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) that sent an intervention force to war-ravaged Liberia in August and drove Mr. Taylor's men out of the capital. [passage omitted]

### **Sierra Leone**

#### **Liberia's Interim Government Meets With Johnson**

AB1411140890 Paris AFP in English 1257 GMT  
14 Nov 90

[Text] Freetown, Nov 14 (AFP)—Members of Liberia's interim government have started consultations with parties to the West African country's brutal civil war in the capital Monrovia, while their leader, Amos Sawyer, completes a four-country regional tour. A senior official in the West African peacekeeping force (ECOMOG) secretariat here said here Wednesday that nine members

of the government held closed-door talks with ECOMOG Field Commander Joshua Dogonyaro and rebel leader, Prince Johnson, who has pledged support for the interim regime.

Headed by vice president Ronald Diggs, a Lutheran bishop, the nine arrived in Monrovia on Sunday from Freetown aboard two Nigerian military helicopters. Meanwhile, the Nigerian naval ship, Ambe left here Wednesday for Monrovia carrying about 1,000 Liberian nationals, many of whom are businessmen. One of the passengers, Andrew Collins, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE he was returning to Liberia "to restart his timber business which was destroyed by rebels" during the 11-month-old strife.

The ECOMOG official said the date of the government's inauguration, originally scheduled for Thursday, was still "open" and would be decided after Mr. Sawyer finishes high-level visits to Ghana, Nigeria, the Gambia and Guinea. Mr. Sawyer, a lawyer and constitutional expert, met Ghana's leader Jerry Rawlings on Monday and was to meet Nigerian head of state Ibrahim Babangida on Wednesday. He was named interim president at a conference in August of Liberian politicians, religious leaders and exiles held in The Gambia under the auspices of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which sent in the peacekeeping troops. The bulk of the 7,000 troops comes from Nigeria and Ghana.

On Monday, Bishop Diggs told a crowd of Liberians camped near Monrovia's port where the five-nation intervention force is based that the government's first task was to reconcile all ethnic groups and work toward peace and harmony. He also reportedly expressed gratitude to the peacekeeping force "for its prompt intervention in the crisis."

African diplomats here said Wednesday that Maj.-Gen. Dogonyaro of Nigeria had on Tuesday held separate talks with leaders of the Armed Forces of Liberia and Mr. Johnson's rebel faction on security for the interim government, which is to be installed "shortly." The ECOMOG field commander reportedly said that once the government was in place, his men would work to restore electricity, water and telecommunications in the country.

Charles Taylor, head of the main guerilla force which invaded Liberia last December, has opposed ECOWAS arrangements for the country and resisted the West African troops who eventually forced his men out of the battered Liberian capital. In September, rival rebels loyal to Mr. Johnson captured and tortured to death President Samuel Doe, who seized power in a bloody military coup in April 1980.

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